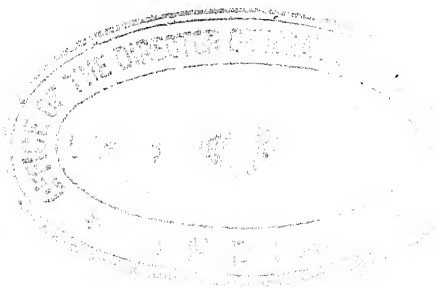


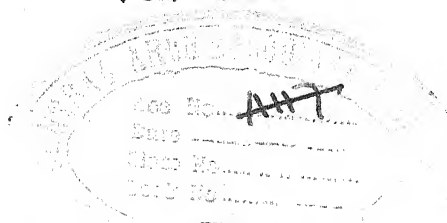
JOURNAL
OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS



University of Calcutta

Journal
of the
Department of Letters

Vol. XXX



A117

891.05
J. D. L.



CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS
1938

PRINTED IN INDIA

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY BHUPENDRALAL BANERJEE,
AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS, SENATE HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 1044 B.J.—May, 1938—E.

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THE CARYĀPADAS

I.

[162^b7-163^a4.]

lus ljon mchog yan lag rnamś lda la |
gyo ba'i semś la sgra gcan rab tu 'jug || [2]
brtan par mrjod cig bde chen yoñś kyī chad |
Lū-yī smras pa bla ma la shus mkhyen || [4]
ma lus tiñ 'dsin rnamś kyis ci shig bya |
bde ba rtsa nas bton na ñes par 'chi || [6]
sphyoñś śig sdeb sbyor byed ciñ gyo sgyu'i bla |
stoñ ñid phyogs la shags pas beñś gis kye || [8]
Lū-yī bdag gi bsam gtan ñid kyis mthoñ |
zla ba ñi ma gñis bsteñ du sdod || [10]
pa-ta-ha'i sñe ma shes bya ba'i glu'i gdañś so ||

kāyā-taruvara[sya] śākhā-pañcake |
cañcala-citte tamaḥ praviśati || [2]
dr̥ḍham kṛtvā mahāsukham parimāpaya |
Lūyī bhaṇati gurum pr̥ṣṭvā jñāhi || [4]
sakala-samādhībhiḥ kiṃ kriyate |
sukha-duḥkhebhyaḥ[?] niścitam mriyate || [6]
parityajya chānda-bāndha-karaṇaṃ kapaṭasya dānaṃ |
śūnyatā-pakṣake pāśabandhanaṃ [kuru] re || [8]
Lūyī [bhaṇati] mayā dhyāna-tattvena dr̥ṣṭam |
candra-sūrya-dvayaśyaupari upaviśya || [10]
paṭahasya mañjarī-iti rāgaḥ ||

1. yan lag—limbs, members ; figuratively—branch of a tree.

2. sgra gcan—*rāhu*, *tamas* ; the latter word conveys the meaning of *kāla* of the Caryā text.

3. brtan par mrjod cig—literally it means “doing with firmness.” The Caryā text has *didha karia*, i.e., *dr̥dham kṛtvā*.

6. rtsa—literally means the root of plants and figuratively of other things. It also means, origin, primary cause, etc. ; the Caryā text has *dukha*.

7. sdeb sbyor byed ciñ gyo sgyu'i bla : sdeb pa—to fasten together ; sbyor ba—to attach, to fasten together ; sdeb sbyor—*chāndogya*, *chandaḥ* ; *chānda* (mod. *chāṇḍā*) in Bengali means “to fasten together.” byed cig—to make, to manufacture, *karaṇam* ; gyo sgyu'i—deceit, i.e., *kaṭa* ; the meaning of ‘bla’ is not clear, it means “superhuman gift and power.” The Caryā text has *edieu chāndaka bāndha karaṇaka pāṭera āsa* which may be emended as *edieu chānda-bāndha-karaṇa kaṭa āsa*.

8. phyogs la—lit. the side, outskirts ; fig. a man's side. In the Tibetan translation of the *Trīṃśikā* of Vasubandhu the word is used to mean *pakṣa* ; the Caryā text has *sunu-pākha*, i.e., *śūnyatāpakṣaka*.

10. zla ba ñi ma—*candra-sūrya* ; in the text we have *dhamana camana* which the commentator explains as *śaśī* and *ravi* and also as *āli kālī*.

pa-ta-ha'i sñe ma—it is interesting to note that the name of the tune (*rāga*) has been rendered as “*paṭahasya mañjarī* ;” in Caryā text it is usually *paṭamañjarī*. In some treatises on music the name occurs as *pattamañjarī*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

II.

[165^b2-3.]

rus sbal 'jo shiñ stegs bu gzuñ du med |
bse yab ljon ba'i 'bras bu chu srin za || [2]
sgo mdun khañ bshugs ñon cig rig ñan kye |
mdo phugs khañ logs nam phyed rkun mas khyer || [4]
rgyug mo gñid soñ mna' ma gñis med gyur |
mdo phugs khañ logs rkun khyer gañ du tshol || [6]
ñin mo mna' ma bya rog mthoñ bas 'jigs |
mtshan mor soñ na kā-m-ru-ru 'gro || [8]
'di 'dra'i glu 'di ku-ku-ri-pas blañs |
bye ba'i nañ nas gcig sñiñ 'jug srid dam || [10]
chen po shes bya ba'i glu'i gdañs so ||

kacchapa-dokana[ñ *kṛtvā*] *bhāṇḍa-dhāraṇam* na |
tintiḍi-vrkṣasya phala[ñ] *kumbhīraḥ khādati* || [2]
aṅganam gṛha-samīpam, śṛṇu bho ku-vijñaptiḥ |
kāneṭam[?] *ardharātrau caureṇa nītam* || [4]
śvaśrūḥ nidrām yāti badhūḥ jāgarti |
kāneṭam[?] *caura-hṛtam kutra prārthayate* || [6]
divase badhūḥ kākam paśyati vibhetti [ca] |
rātrau āgatāyām Kāmarurum gacchati || [8]
idrśī-caryā [anena] *kukuri-pādena gīyate* |
koṭinām madhye eka-hṛdaye pravīṣati || [10]
gavaḍā iti nāma rāgaḥ ||

1. rus sbal—means *kacchapa*, 'tortoise.' The Caryā has *duli*; in some of the Bengali dialects *durā* (also pronounced *duḍā*) is a kind of small tortoise. In some of the Sanskrit Dictionaries *duli* and *duli* are given as synonyms of *kacchapī*. The word is found under two forms—*daḍi*, *duḍi*—in the *Pillar Inscriptions of Aśoka*, No. 5.

2. bse yab ljon ba—‘bse yab’ means according to S. C. Das “a kind of sweet and acidulous medicinal fruit.” It has evidently been used to render *tentali* < *tintiḍi* “tamarind” of the Caryā. The Caryā has *rukhera tentali*, “the tamarind of the tree” but the Tib. has translated the sense in a little different way.

3. sgo mdun—lit. means ‘door-front’ which approximately renders the sense of the original *āṅgana*—“court-yard.” rig nan—means *ku-vijñapti* “bad wisdom;” the Caryā has *biāti* instead which seems to be derived from *vijñapti*.

4. mdo phugs khañ logs—the meaning of this expression is not clear. The Caryā has *kāneṭa* which the editor explains as *karnabhūṣaṇa* “ear-ring.” It also occurs in line 6. The Sanskrit commentary gives the esoteric meaning in both the places as *praveśādi-vāta-doṣa*. This is rendered in the Tibetan translation of the commentary as ‘jug pa sogs pa’i rluñ gyi skyon, which is simply a literal rendering and does not help in clearing the meaning.

7. bya rog mthoñ bas ’jigs—means literally “is afraid to see the crow.” The Caryā has *divasai bahuḍi kāḍai dare bhāa*, which therefore may be emended as—*kāga-dare bhāi*. chen po—is given as the name of the *rāga*. The Caryā mentions it as *rāga garadā*. The Tib. expression literally means *mahā, guru* “great.” But the meaning of *garadā* is unknown. In musical treatises we find mention of a *rāga* called *gaḍā* which in more modern local forms is found as *gārā*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

III.

[166^b7-167^a3.]

chen po shes bya ba'i glu'i gdañs so ॥

Bi-ru-ba'i shabs kyi'o ॥

chañ ma geig ñid khyim ni gñis na chañ sbyor byed ॥

phabs dan rtse med chu bdag chañ ni sbyor bar byed ॥ [2]

lhan eig skyes pa brtan par bzuñ kye rnal 'byor chañ ॥

gañ gis rgas dan 'chi med phuñ po 'gyur med brtan ॥ [4]

sgo ni beu par rtags kyis mthoñ par 'gyur ॥

chañ ño 'oñs pa ran gyis chañ ni khur na 'oñs ॥ [6]

chu tshod drug cu rtse bshi'i ghā-ñi-'i stegs bu bsams ॥

chañ 'thuñ rab tu shugs nas ñes par byuñ pa med ॥ [8]

chañ gi bum pa geig gi mehu ni shin tu phra ॥

Bi-rus smras pa brtan pa ñid du bskyod par gyis ॥ [10]

gavadā iti nāma rāgaḥ Birubapādānām ॥

śuṇḍinī ekakā eva gr̥ha-dvayaṁ madena ekīkaroti ॥

valkala-cūrṇena(?) madam bandhayati ॥ [2]

dr̥ḍha-sahajena dhāraya bho yoga-madam ॥

yena ajarāmaratvaṁ skandhaḥ na bhavanti dr̥ḍhāḥ ॥ [4]

daśama-dvārataḥ cihnāṅkaṁ dr̥ṣṭvā ॥

mada-kretā āgataḥ svayaṁ madam grahitum ॥ [6]

ghaṭi-yantra[?] catuḥṣaṣṭīnām ghāṭiṣṭhāne [madam]

sajjikṛtam ॥

mada-grāhakaḥ praviśati [tasya] niścitaṁ cihnāṁ nāsti ॥ [8]

madasya bhāṇḍam ekam [tasya] nālaṁ sūkṣmaṁ ॥

Bi-ru bhaṇati dr̥ḍhameva cālāya ॥ [10]

1. chañ ma—means “a woman wine-dealer”—Skt. *śauṇḍikī* ; the commentary of the Caryā gives *śuṇḍinī*.

sbyor byed—means literally “to attach or find together.” The Caryā text has *sāndhaa* which the Skt.

commentary explains as *sandhayati madhyamāyām praveśayati*. *sāndhi* in old Bengali (mod. *sādhī*) is used in the sense of 'entering' or "causing to enter" but the Tib. has taken it in its primary sense—to bind together. In the Caryā text both these meanings hold good.

2. phabs dañ rtse med—This expression creates some difficulty. The Caryā text has *cīṇa bākala*; *bākala* < Skt. *valkala*; *cīṇa* < *cikkana* means "fine" in Bengali. Evidently reference is here made to 'the fine powder' used for fermenting the wine. Tib. 'phabs' is a rare word. 'phab' (in Baltistan 'phabs') really means 'yeast' and is explained as 'chañ rtsi.' (cf. S. C. Das, *Dictionary*). The Skt. equivalent of the word is given as *kiñcana* by S. C. Das. *kiñcana* is said to be in the Skt. lexicons a variety of *palāśa* called *hastikarṇa*. The powder of the root of this tree is used with *kāñjika* as an invigorating drug (see *Śabdakalpadrūma* S.V. *hastikarṇa*). Tib. 'rtse med' seems to be wrong.

3. bzuñ—lit. 'catch.'—Skt. *dhūraya*; the Caryā text has *sāndhe* which may be corrected as *sāndha* and taken either in the sense of *praveśaya* or *bandhanam kuru*.

4. phuñ po 'gyur med brtan—lit. *skandhāḥ na bhavati dṛdhāḥ* but the Caryā text has *hoi diṭa* (sic *diḍha*) *kārdha* which the commentator explains as *dṛḍhaskandham labhase*, "attain firmly." The Tib. translation seems to be confused.

6. chañ ño—the wine-purchaser; the Caryā text has *garāhaka* < *grāhaka*. In the dialects of Western Bengal the word *garāk* is still used in the same sense.

9. bum pa—means "a pot"—*bhāṇḍam*. The Caryā text has *sa ḍulī* which the Sanskrit commentary mentions as *gha ḍulī* and explains as *ghaṭī*; *sa ḍulī* therefore should be corrected as *ghaḍulī* which in Bengali means "a water-carrying pot" from *ghaṭa*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

IV.

[168^a4—6.]

skya reñ shes bya ba'i glu'i gdañs Gu-ñda-ri'i shabs kyi'o ||
ka mgo non la yan log 'khyuñ la byin |
chu skyes rdo rje sbyar tshod dus min rgoñs mo gyis || [2]
rnal 'byor khyod med skad eig rgyañ mi 'tsho |
khyod shal 'o byed chu skyes khu ba 'thuñ || [4]
'phañs nas len mi šes pa rnal 'byor ma |
ma-ñi ku-ñda-le phyi U-rgyan mñam || [6]
rgyug mo'i khyim phyin lde kyog lde mig go |
zla ba ñi ma gñis kyi sgo glegs [?] cān || [8]
Gu-ñda-rī bdag kun-du-re smra |
miñ ña mi mo'i dbus su rtags mtshan btsugs || [10]
aruṇa iti nāma rāgaḥ Guṇḍarīpādānām ||
pradhāna-sthānam cāpayitvā ālīnganam kuru |
kamala-kulīśaṁ miśrītaṁ kuru kāla-hīna-sandhyayā || [2]
yogini trayā vinā kṣaṇa-mātram dūraṁ na jīvāmi |
tava mukham cumbitvā kamala-rasaṁ pibāmi || [4]
kṣepāt grahitum na śaknoti yoginī |
maṇikuṇḍala-paścāt Uḍiyānaṁ samāpannaṁ | [6]
*śvaśro graham-āgataḥ *tālaṁ kuñcikāṁ ca sambodhya |*
candra-sūrya-dvayoḥ pakṣakaṁ chedaya || [8]
Guṇḍarī [bhaṇati] aham kundure vīraḥ |
nara-nārīṇāṁ madhye cihnam [mayā] āropitaṁ || [10]

The name of the *rāga* in the Caryā text is given as *aru*, but Tib. 'skya reñ' means *aruṇa*.

1. ka mgo—the meaning is not clear. ka=means "support, *stambha*" etc., and mgo—"first place, principal part, etc." 'ka mgo' together has the sense of "chief thing, principal part." The Caryā text has *tiaddā* which the Sanskrit commentary takes in the sense of *tri-nāḍya* "the three

arteries." *tiadḍā* literally means "that which is triangular." Cf. modern Bengali *teḍā*. But in the Caryā text it seems to be taken in the sense of *yonī*. One of the synonyms of *yonī* is *varāṅgam* and that sense seems to have been rendered in the Tib. translation.

'khyun la byen="to embrace." The Caryā text has *de amkabāli* (*ālīṅganam dehi*).

2. *dus min rgoṅs mo*="timeless evening," *kālahīnā sandhyā*. The Caryā text has *biāli* < *vikāli* which the commentary explains as *kālarahitām mahāmudrām*.

3. *rgyan*=*dūram*, distance. The Caryā text does not contain it; it is probably used in Tibetan to emphasise the sense of *taī binu* "without you."

4. 'o byed = to kiss. The Caryā text has *cumbi*.

5. 'phaṅs=shake, throw, etc.' *phaṅs nas*—is in ablative and should therefore be restored as *kṣepāt*. The Caryā text has *khepaku* which seems to be wrong. The Sanskrit commentary renders it as *kṣepāt*. *len mi ses pa*=not able to take—*grahītum na śaknoti*. The Caryā text has *lepa na jāya* which the comm. explains as *mohamalāvaliptā bhavatīti*. The Tib. probably read *lea na jāa* instead of *lepa*, etc.; *jāya* of course is a wrong form and should be corrected as *jāa* even for the sake of rhyme with *sagāa* (sic *samāa*).

6. *ma-ṇi-ku-ṇḍa-la*; the text has *maṇikūla*. *phyi*=afterwards; *bahia* of the Caryā text conveys the meaning as "beyond *maṇikuṇḍala*." U-rgyan is regular transcription of *Uḍiāṇa* or *Oḍiāṇa*. *mñam*=*sama*, *samāpanna*, like; the text has *sagāa* which should be corrected as *samāa* "enters."

7. *lde kyog lde mig*; *lde*=storehouse, treasure; *lde mig* means "a padlock, a key, etc." I have taken it in the sense of "key"=*kuñcikā*. The meaning of 'lde kyog' is not clear. The only meanings attributed to it in the Dictionary are "crooked, bent" (*vakra*). It seems 'lde kyog' has been used to mean "a padlock;" cf. the Caryā text—*koñcā talā*.

go : 'go ba' means "to understand, to perceive mentally." The text has *ghāli* which in Bengali means 'to injure' and hence 'to break' in this case. But the Sanskrit com. explains it as : *tūla-samputīkaraṇe maṇimūladvāra-nirodham kartavyamātmānam sambodhya—*

8. The Tibetan has clearly glegs can ; glegs means "a board, any flat piece." The Caryā text has *phāla* (<*sphāṭa*) which the commentary explains as *khaṇḍayitrā*. In the Tibetan it is translated as : len pa 'gog pas "take by tearing away" (p. 169³). It therefore seems that 'glegs can' is simply a mistake for 'bregs can' which means "to cut asunder."

10. rtags mtshan btsugs : "planted the mark," i.e. "made oneself distinguished." The Caryā text has *ubhila cīrā* which the commentary explains as *yogindra cihnam-aṣṭagaṇaiśvaryaḍi mayā-uddhṛtam*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

V.

[169^b1-3.]

Gu-rjja-ri shes bya ba'i glu'i gdañs Tsā-ṭi-la'i shabs kyi'o |
srid pa'i chu kluñ kloñ bcas zab mo rgyug ciñ 'bab |
mtha' ma gñis ni rab 'dreñ dbus na 'dug gnas med || [2]
chos dbyeñs don du Tsā. ṭi. la yis zam pa byas |
pha rol 'gro ba'i 'jig rten ñes par sgrol bor byañ || [4]
ma rig ljon śiñ gśags nas sdañ leb yañ dag bsgregs |
bzod gñis kyis ni brtan par myañ na 'das pa phrag || [6]
zam pa de la 'gron gyon ma 'gro cig |
ñe bar bdod las riñ du 'gro bar ma byed cig || [8]
gal te khyed rnamś 'jig rten pha rol 'gro na yañ |
bla med byañ eh ub Cā-ṭi-la la dri bar gyis || [10]

Gurjjarī iti nāma rāgaḥ Tsāṭilapādānām ||
bhava-nadī āvarta-sahitā gambhīra-regena vakati |
anta-drave pañka-madhye sthānaṁ nāsti || [2]
dharmārtham 'Tsāṭilena sañkramaṁ gaṭhitam |
pāraṁgāmi-lokaḥ sthīram avatīrṇaḥ bhavati || [4]
moha-taruṁ chittrvā pāṭakam-ekīkaroti |
śakti-dvayena dṛḍham nirvāṇaṁ chedyatām || [6]
sañkramaṁ-āruhya vāma-dakṣiṇau na gacchati |
sannihitaḥ bodhiḥ [ataḥ] dūraṁ mā gaccha || [8]
yadi bhavantaḥ lokāḥ pāraṁ gacchatha |
anuttara-bodhiṁ Cāṭilaṁ prcchatām [tataḥ] || [10]

1. kloñ bcas : *sāvartta*, with opening folds or coils, *i.e.*, whirls which really indicates great depth of the stream. The Caryā text has *gahana*.

2. rab 'dreñ : the meaning is not clear.

rab means "much, plentiful;" 'dreñ pa : washed away ;
Hence "that which is much washed away" may be supposed

to have meant *cikhila* of the Caryā text, explained in the commentary as *prakṛtidoṣa*—*pañka* —; *cikhila* in Bengali has retained the sense of *pañka* “mud, clay.”

6. *bzod*: *bzod pa* generally means “to endure, to resist” and may yield the sense of “ability, *kṣamatā*. For “*bzod gñis kyis ni brtan par*” the Caryā text has *ādaadiṭi tāngi* which the commentary explains as *yuganaddha paraśunā dṛdham karoti*. The Caryā text may be corrected as *adaa diḍha tāngi*, but the Tib. does in no way render that sense. The Caryā text has *kohia* for Tib. ‘phug.’ ‘Phug’ is not found in the Dictionary but there is ‘phugs,’ the future form of the root ‘phigs pa— meaning “to cut asunder,” Skt. *bhid*. The imperative form is ‘phig’ and not ‘phug.’

10. *bla med byañ chub*: literally *anuttarabodhi*. It is used as an adjective of Tsāṭila. The Caryā text has *anuttara-svāmī* instead.

THE CARYĀPADAS

VI.

[170^b4-5.]

Pa-ṭa-ha-ma-ñdsari shes bya ba'i glu'i gdañs
Bhu-su ku-'i shabs kyis so ॥
gañ gis zas la 'dus nas ci ste 'dug ı
mtha' skor rgol ba thogs bshi rnam nas so ॥ [2]
ri dags rañ śa gi dgra ru lañs ı
so rtag skad cig mi 'dor Bhu-su-ku ॥ [4]
rtsva la mi reg ri dags chu mi 'thuñs ı
kye ma ri dags pho mo gnas mi śes ॥ [6]
ri dags smra ñon rtsva med ri dags ma ı
nags 'di spañs nas 'jigs med gnas su señ ॥ [8]
'phyoñs shiñ brgyugs pas ri dags rkañ mi snañ ı
Bhu-su-kus smras blun sñiñ la mi 'jug ॥ [10]

*Paṭahamañdsari iti nāma rāgaḥ Bhusukupādānām ॥
kāśya āhāram ekikṛtya katham sthitam ı
vesthitaṁ dākaṁ catur-digbhyaḥ ॥ [2]
hariṇaḥ māñsena ātmanaḥ vairi sañjātaḥ ı
nityaṁ kṣaṇamātraṁ na tyajati Bhusukum ॥ [4]
tṛṇaṁ na sprśati hariṇaḥ jalaṁ na pibati ı
bhoḥ hariṇa hariṇyañ na jānāmi ॥ [6]
hariṇi vadati śṛṇu atṛṇa hariṇa ı
etaḍ vanam parityajya bhaya-śūnya-sthānaṁ gaccha ॥ [8]
trasaṁ dhāvitatayā hariṇasya kṣuraṁ na bhāti ı
Bhu-su-kunā bhanyate mūḍha-hṛdaye na praviśati ॥ [10]*

1. gañ gis zas la 'dus nas ; the literal meaning does not convey any clear sense. The Caryā text : *kāhairi ghini meli* does no more yield any clear meaning. *Kāhairi* in the light

of the commentary may be corrected as *kāhere* which corresponds to Tib. 'gañ gis;' *ghini* seems to be derived from \sqrt{grhna} and may be explained as *grhītvā* "taking." But the Tibetan translation has no agreement here. *Mili* is translated in Tib. as 'dus nas; 'dus pa: means to gather, to assemble, etc., *mili* < Skt. *mīl* has retained that sense in modern Bengali. In the *Dohā-kośa* of Saraha (M. Shahidullah—*Les chants mystiques*, Saraha; 47) there is *mellaha* in the imperative which is also translated in Tib as 'dus pa. *Mellaha* is without doubt connected with *mili*, *mil*, but I do not see why Dr. Shahidullah gives its Sanskrit equivalent as *muñcata*.

3. ri dags : occurs generally under the form—ri dvags = deer (*hariṇa*).

7. rtsva med ri dags ma : 'rtsva med' can literally mean *trṇa-sūnya* or *atrṇa*. This does not occur in the Caryā text which has simply *hariā* to which may be corrected as *hariṇā* to "Oh, *hariṇa* !"

9. 'phyoṅs shiñ brgyugs pas : 'phyoṅs seems to be derived not from 'phyoṅ ba—"to lay aside, to abandon" but from 'phyo ba [different forms : 'phyos pa, 'phyoṅ] - "to be agitated." This seems to render *tarasante* of the Caryā text. H. P. Sāstrī gives it as *taramgante* which is wrong. The original MS. which I have compared has *tarasante* < *tras* —to be agitated, to be afraid, etc.

THE CARYĀPADAS

VII.

[271^b5-7.]

rna'i tshogs pa shes bya ba'i glu'i dbyaṅs
Nag-po spyod pa pa'i shabs kyi'o ॥
'jigs byed dus mtshan ma yis lam ni bkol ॥
de mthoñ Kā-hna sems ni rnam mi dga' ॥ [1]
Kā-hnas gañ du phyen nas gnas 'cha' byed ॥
yid kyi spyod yul gañ de btañ sñoms 'dug ॥ [4]
khams gsum gsum pa gsum kyaṅs sor 'dug ॥
Kā-hnas smras pa skyed da yon̄s su geod ॥ [6]
gañ dañ gañ de dañ de yañ sod ॥
bdag űid loṅs nas Kā-hna yid mi bdo ॥ [8]
'di ni Kā-hna rgyal po'i pho brañ űi ॥
Kā-hnas smras kyañ bdag gi sñiñ mi 'jug ॥ [10]

*Paṭaha-mañjarī iti nāma rāgaḥ Kṛṣṇa-caryā-pāḍānām ॥
bhaya-janakena kāla-lakṣaṇena ca mārgam ābaddham ॥
tad dr̥ṣṭvā Kāhnaḥ citte viśeṣa nirānandaḥ ॥ [2]
Kāhna kutra gatvā sthānam kartavyam ॥
mana-gocara-viṣayaṁ yat tat udāsa ॥ [4]
dhātu-trayaṁ trīṇi trīṇi bhinnāḥ ॥
Kāhna bhanyate bhavam pari-ch'innāḥ ॥ [6]
yaḥ ya āgataḥ saḥ saḥ gataḥ ॥
aḥaṁkāra-āgamanena Kāhnaḥ vi-manāḥ bhūtaḥ ॥ [8]
tasmin Kāhnaḥ jinapuram sannihitam [dr̥ṣṭvā] ॥
Kāhna bhanyate mama hṛdaye na praviśati ॥ [10]*

1. 'jigs byed dus mtshan ma: lit. the marks of time which cause apprehension. The Caryā text has *aliē* [Var. *āliē*] *kāliē* which the commentary explains as *ālinā lokajñānena, kālinā lokabhāsenā ca*. This is translated in Tibetan as : 'jigs byed ni ye śes kyi snañ ba dañ dus mtshan ma ni snañ ba

mched pa : “ 'jig byed—*jñānāloka* and dus mtshan—*ālokaṣṛddhi*.” Whatever the literal senses of 'jigs byed and dus mtshan may be they are taken to stand for *āli*, and *kāli*.

2. sems ni rnam mi dga' : lit. much displeased in mind. This conveys the sense of *vīmanā* [Comm. *viśiṣṭama-nasa*] of the Caryā text.

3. Kā-hna : this is the transcription of the form Kāhna, but in the Caryā text we have Kāhnu everywhere.

4. sñoms : indifference, fatigue. The Caryā text has *uāsa* > *udāsa*.

5. khams-gsum : *dhātu-trayaṃ*; The Caryā text has *te* which the commentary explains as *rgamartya-rasātalam*.

8. bdag ñid loṅs nas : lit. “an account of the rise of *ahamkāra*.” The caryā text has *avaṇāgamaṇa* which the commentary explains as - eṣāṃ [*bhāvānām*]- *utpāda-bhangeṣu saṃvṛtisatyasvalhāva-parijñānena*...the rise and disappearance, i.e., the passing of *bhāvas* really produces the *ahamkāra*. Hence the justification of the Tibetan translation.

10. bdag gi sñeñ mi : lit. *mamu hṛdaye*. This helps in correcting *mohiahi* of the Caryā text as *mo hiahi*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

VIII.

[172^b7-173^a2.]

lha rnams rol pa shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs la wa'i na
bza' can gyi shabs kyis kyaṅ ᳚
sñiṅ rje'i gru ni gser gyis rab tu kheṅs ᳚
dñul la gshag pa'i gnas ñid med par gyur ᳚ [2]
nam mkha' bltas nas la ba pa yis 'gro ᳚
skye bu soṅ nas slar yaṅ ji ltar 'byuṅ ᳚ [4]
gru yi brtod gyur thon la ñag thag thod ᳚
bla ma dam pa la dres pa yi 'gro ᳚ [6]
gru yi mjug la shon pa mtshen shiṅ 'gro ᳚
gru sku med par mñan pa gaṅ gis 'gro ᳚ [8]
byaṅ daṅ lho dag bcum nas gru sna shon ᳚
bde ba chen po'i grogs daṅ lam du 'jom ᳚ [10]

Deva-krīdā iti nāma rāgaḥ Kambalāmbaṛapādānām ᳚
karuṇā naukā svarṇena saṃpūrītā ᳚
raupya-sthāpanasya sthānameva nāsti ᳚ [2]
gagaṇa-uddeśena Kambala gacchasi ᳚
vigata-janmanā katham pratyāgamanam bhavati ᳚ [4]
khunṭikām utpāṭya kacchikām muktṛvā ᳚
sadgurum prṣṭvā gaccha ᳚ [6]
nāvaḥ poścād-deśam āruhya vilam patati ᳚
naukā-daṇḍam nāsti nāvikaḥ kena gacchati ᳚ [8]
uttara-dakṣiṇau cāpayitvā naukām āruhya ᳚
mahāsukha-saṅgam pathi prāptam ᳚ [10]

The same of the *rāga* is translated as : lha rnams ral pa-
“the frolic of the gods,” i.e., *deva-krīdā*. The Caryā text has
devakrī. The name of the author is translated as, la wa'i na
bza', i.e., ‘one who has woollen cloth’ = *Kambalāmbara*.

1. *sñiñ rje'i gru ni—karuṇā naukā*. The Caryā text has *karuṇā nāvī*.

2. *dnul la gshag pa'i gnas ñid med par gyur*—lit. there is no place for putting the silver. The Caryā text has *rūpā thoi mahike ṭhābi* which may be corrected as *rūpā thoi nāhika ṭhābi*.

3. 'gro=*gaccha*. The Caryā text has *bāhātu*.

4. *slar yañ ji ltar 'byuñ*—lit. "how once again becomes." The Caryā text has : *bahu ui kaisē* which may be corrected as *bāhudaī kaisē* with the help of the commentary—*janmāntaraṁ vyāghuṭati* ; *bāhudaī* has the sense of "renewing, becoming again, etc."

4. *gru yi btod gyur* : the peg of the boat ; the Caryā text has *khunṭikā*. Thon is derived from 'don pa—to cause to come forth, hence *utpāty* (*upādi* in the text) ; ñag thag=rope ; the text has *kācchi*, a Bengali word for thick rope used for attaching the boat. The meaning of thon is not clear. It seems to be derived from 'thog pa, 'to take away.' The Caryā text has *melili* in the sense of "spread out, loosen."

7. *gru yi mjug la* : lit. the hinder part of the boat. The Caryā text has *māṅgata* which the commentary explains as *mārgam* ; *mārga* has retained that meaning in Bengali. Shon pa—to ascend, *ārohaṇa* ; the text has *canhile* which may be corrected as *cadhile*. Mtshen shiñ 'gro—"mtshen" if corrected as 'mtshed' would mean "a tomb." So the expression may mean—"falls into the tomb or pit." But it has no verbal agreement with the Caryā text which has *caūdisa cāhaa* "looks in the four directions" which the commentary explains as—*caturdiśaṁ grāhyādi vinā saṁsāre patati*.

8. *gru skud=naukā-danḍam* which agrees with *keduāla* of the text.

THE CARYĀPADAS

IX.

[174^a3-5]

Pa-ta-ha'i tshogs pa shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs
 Nag po sbyon pa'i shabs kyi'o ॥
 evam yi gi brtan byas ka gñis ñed ॥
 rnam pa sna tshogs khyab byed 'chiñ ba ston ॥ [2]
 Ka-hna tse shiñ sbrañ gi chad gis myos ॥
 lhan skyes chu skyes tshal shugs sems med 'gyur ॥ [4]
 ji lta ji ltar glañ chen glañ mor chags ॥
 de lta de ltar de ñid ños 'gram 'bab ॥ [6]
 'gro drug mtha' dag rañ bshin dag bste ॥
 dños dañ dños med la chags ma dag pa ॥ [8]
 stobs beu'i rin chen phyogs beu rnam su 'phro ॥
 rig pa'i glañ dbaṅ ñon moṅs ñid kyis btsal ॥ [10]

*Paṭaha-mañjarī iti nāma rāgaḥ Kṛṣṇācārya-pādūnām ॥
 evamkāraṁ dṛḍha-stambhadvayaṁ mardayitvā ॥
 vividha-vyūpaka-bandhanam toḍayitvā ॥ [2]
 Kāhnaḥ vilasati āsavamattaḥ ॥
 sahaja nalinīvanam praviśya acitta-bhūtaḥ ॥ [4]
 yathā yathā mahā-karī karīṇyām āsaktaḥ ॥
 tathā tathā tathatā [madakadam ?] varṣati ॥ [6]
 ṣaḍgatayaḥ samastāḥ svabhāvataḥ śuddhāḥ ॥
 bhāva-abhāvaḥ bālāgram na śuddhaḥ ॥ [8]
 daśa-bala-ratnam daśa-dikṣu viśṛtam ॥
 vidyā-karīndram kleśena (?) tattvena damaya ॥ [10]*

1. ka gñis = the two posts; the Caryā text has *bākhoda* which the commentary explains as *stambhadvayaṁ*; ñed—from mñed pa = *parimardati*, mñe ba = *parimardana*.

2. khyab byed = 'covering' agrees with *vyūpaka* of the Caryā; text 'ston' seems to be derived from 'don pa—which

means "to take out." The Caryā text has *toḍiu* "to break."

3. *sems med 'gyur*—lit. "to become without *citta*." The Caryā text has *nivītā* which the commentary explains as *nirvikalpākāre*. This indicates a state of mind when no thoughts arise.

5. *chags*—"to be fond of"—hence *āsakta*. The Caryā text has *risaa* (com. *īrṣyāmadam vahati*).

6. *ños 'gram*—the meaning is not clear. It literally means—"side, corner" and has the sense of "backside." The Caryā text has *madagala*, i.e., "rut."

8. *chags ma dag pa*—"chags" seems to be derived from 'chag pa meaning "to break" and hence that which is broken or a small part.' This may convey the sense of *balāga* (*bālāgram*) of the Caryā text; *ma dag pa*=*na suddhaḥ* "not pure" which agrees with *chudha* of the Caryā text.

9. *'phro*=to spread, *vistṛtam*. The Caryā text has *hariā* which the commentary explains as *hāritam*.

10. *rig pa'i glañ dbañ*=lit. the great elephant of knowledge—*vidyā-karīndra*. The Caryā text has *vidyākari* but the commentary has *avidyākarīndra*; the sense imposes the reading *avidyākarīndra*—and it therefore seems that the Tibetan translator had already a faulty text before him; *ñon moñs ñid kyis*—should be corrected as—*ñon moñs med kyis*—which agrees with *akilesē* (*akleśena*) of the Caryā text.

THE CARYĀPADAS

X.

[175^a1-4]

De-śa-kha shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Nag po spyod pa'i
shabs kyi'o ॥

groṅ khyer phyi rol gyuṅ mo khyod kyi khyim ॥

reg gin reg gin 'gro de bram ze'i bu ॥ [2]

kyi'o kye gyuṅ mo khyod daṅ mñam 'groggs bya ॥

Kā-hna thod pa'i rnal 'byor skyug bro spaṅs ॥ [4]

geig ñid paṅ 'dab drug cu rtsa bshel ॥

der gnas gyuṅ mo gaṅ byed ba-pu-lī ॥ [6]

bdag gis gyuṅ mo khyod la 'den dños dris ॥

'oṅ daṅ 'gro ba gaṅ gi gru la byed ॥ [8]

rgyud tshoṅ gyuṅ mo gshan yaṅ me tog stegs ॥

khyod kyi ched du 'dam bu'i snan gshag go ॥ [10]

kye khyod gyuṅ mo bdag ni kā-pa-lī ॥

khyod kyi ched du bdag gi rus 'phreṅ beaṅs ॥ [12]

rjiṅ bu beom nas gyuṅ mo bde rtsa zos ॥

gyuṅ mo blaṅs nas bdag gis pha rol gsoṅ ॥ [14]

Deśākha iti nāma rāgaḥ Kṛṣṇacaryāpādānām ॥

nagara-bāhireṇa dombi tava kuṭīrah ॥

spr̥ṣṭvā spr̥ṣṭvā gacchasi brāhmaṇa-baṭukam ॥ [2]

bho dombi ! tvayā saha saṅgam kartavyam ॥

Kāhnaḥ kapāla-yogī nirghṛṇyaḥ nagnaḥ ॥ [4]

ekam eva padmam [tasya] catuḥṣaṣṭi dalāni ॥

tatra dombī nr̥tyati bāpuḍī ॥ [6]

dombi ahaṁ tvāṁ sadbhāvaṁ pr̥cchāmi ॥

āgacchasi gacchasi kasya naukāyām ॥ [8]

tantrīm vikr̥ṇīhi dombi aparam api puṣpa-bhāñjanam ॥

tava nimittam nala-piḍā parityaktam ॥ [10]

bho tvam dombī ahaṁ kapālī ॥

tava nimittam mayā asthi-mālyam gṛhītam ॥ [12]

sarovaram nirjitya dombī mṛṇālāṁ khādati ॥

dombīm gṛhītvā mayā pāram nihatam ॥ [14]

1. *gron khyer phyi rol* = outside the city. The Caryā text has *nagara bārihirē* which may be thus corrected as *nagara-bāhirē*. *Gyañ mo* = an outcast woman—*caṇḍālinī*, *ḍombī*.

2. *bram ze'i bu* = the son of a Brahmin. The Caryā text has *bāhma-nāḍiā*, which the commentary explains as *Brahma-hūṅkārabījajātam capalayogavāt cittabaṭukam*. For *nāḍiā* cf. modern Bengali *neḍā* which means shaven-headed; *nāḍiā* in this case implies a newly initiated Brahmin boy, i.e., a young Brahmacārin.

4. *thod pa* = *kapāla*, skull and hence one who holds the skull. The Caryā text has *kāpāli*. *Skyug bro* = that which causes nausea; this renders the idea of *nighiṇa* of the text. *Spaṅs* = to abandon, leave; the Caryā text has *lāga* (sic, *lāṅga*) < *nagna* "one who has abandoned clothes."

5. *pañ*—in the xylograph seems to be a mistake for *pad-ma* = *padma*.

7. *'den dño dris* = 'den is not found in the Dictionary; it is probably a mistake for 'ded meaning "to succeed, to follow." *dños* = real, reality. The whole expression then may be taken to mean "ask really." The Caryā text has *sadbhāve* (com. *sadbhāvena svarūpāsayena*).

9. *rgyud* = *tantra*; the Caryā text has *tānti*. *me tog* = lit. the upholder of flower, i.e., *puṣpabhāñjanam*. The Caryā text has *cāṅgatā* (com. *cāṅgitam*) which seems to be a mistake *cāṅgeḍā*; cf. mod. Bengali *cāṅgāḷi*—a kind of flat basket.

10. *'dam bu'i snan*—probably to be corrected as *'dam bu'i sun*—the beating of *nala* or reed. The Caryā text has *naḍa eṭṭā* which for the sake of rhyme with *cāṅgeḍā* and with the help of the commentary (*naṭavat saṁsārapaṭakam*) may be corrected as *naḍa peḍā*. The Tibetan has evidently taken *naḍa*, not as *naṭa*, but as *nala* and *peḍā* in the sense, not of *peṭaka*, but of Bengali *peṭā* < Skt. *pīḍ* "to beat, to strike."

THE CARYĀPADAS

XI.

[176^a7-176^b2]

Pa-ṭa-ha ma-ñja-rī shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs
Nag po spyod pa'i shabs kyi 'o ॥
nā-dī nus ldan brtan gzuñ kha-tte la ।
gśom med dā-ma-ru sgrogs dpa' po'i gdaṅs ॥ [2]
Kā-hna thod can rnal 'byor shugs nas spyod ।
lus kyi groñ khyer shes byar rigs gcig spyod ॥ [4]
ā-li kā-li dril bu rkañ gdub can ।
zla ba ñi ma rna rgyan brgyan du byas ॥ [6]
'dod chags she sdañ gti mug thal bas byugs ।
mchog gi thar mchog mu tig do śal beaṅs ॥ [8]
rgyug mo a ni skud po khyim du sod ।
ma ni gsod pas Kā-hna kā-pa-lī ॥ [10]

Paṭahamañjarī iti nāma rāgaḥ Kṛṣṇacaryāpādānām ॥
nādi-śakti drdham dhṛtvā khaṭṭe ।
anāhata-dāmaruḥ ninadati vīranādena ॥ [2]
Kāhnaḥ kapālī yogī praviśati ācāre ।
deham nāgarī iti kṛtvā viharati eka-ācāre ॥ [4]
ālī-kālī ghaṇṭā-nūpurau ।
candra-sūryau kuṇḍala-ābharanam kṛtvā ॥ [6]
rāga-dveṣa-moha-bhasma vilipyā ।
parama-mokṣa-muktāhāram dhṛtvā ॥ [8]
śvaśrū-nanāndr-śyālikāḥ gr̥he mārāya ।
mātaram mārāyitvā Kāhnaḥ kapālī [bhūtaḥ] ॥ [10]

3. spyod—spyod pa—literally means “practice”—*caryā*.
Here the mystic practice is spoken of.

4. lus kyi groñ khyer shes byar—lit. by making a city
of the body. The Caryā text has simply *deha naarī*. gcig

spyod = lit. *eka-caryā*, *eka-ācāra*; the Caryā text has *ekāre* (com. *ekākāratayā* but Tib.—gcig pa de yis spyod) which may be corrected as *ekācārē*.

5. rkañ gdub cān—an ornament for the toes of the feet; foot-rings; hence *nūpura*. The Caryā text has *neura* < *nūpura*. The Tibetan translation drops the word *carane* which occurs after *neura* in the text.

7. thal bas = *bhasma*, ashes; 'byugs' from the root 'byug pa = to anoint, *vilipta*. The Caryā text has *lāia* [sic *laia*] *chāra*.

8. bcañs < bcañ pa = to hold; the Caryā text has *lavae* "to take."

9. rgyug mo, a-ni, skyud po are taken to mean respectively: mother-in-law (*śvaśrū*), husband's sister (*nanandā*) and wife's sister (*śyālikā*); 'sod' seems to be derived from—gsod pa "to kill." The Caryā text has *māria* (i.e., *mārayitvā*).

10. ma ni gsod pas; lit. by killing the mother—*mātaram mārayitvā* [the Caryā text—*māa māriā*]. *bhaia* [sic *bhaila*] is not translated in Tibetan. The Tibetan transcribes *kavālī* of the Caryā text as *kā-pa-lī*. Probably the original reading was *kāpālī*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XII.

[177^a5-177^a7]

rña bo che shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Nag po shabs kyī'o ᳚
sñin rje'i rgyal mtshan rgyan po rtse bar byed ᳚
bla ma'i gsun gi srid pa'i stobs las rgyal ᳚ [2]
phyogs su-᳚du-a bskul na rgyal bo la ᳚
phan thabs Kā-hna rgyal ba'i bo braṅ ᳚ño ᳚ [4]
daṅ por mi raṅ bton na gsod bar 'gyur ᳚
glaṅ chen bton nas skye bo lda daṅ rtses ᳚ [6]
blo yis rgyan po yonṡ su mya ᳚ñan 'das ᳚
ñes bar byas bas srid pa'i dbyaṅ las rgyal ᳚ [8]
Kā-hna smras pa bdag ni bde mchog bzaṅ ᳚
reṅ nigs drug cu rtsa bshi rtsis nas len ᳚ [10]

Bhairavī iti nāma rāgaḥ Kṛṣṇapādānām ᳚
karuṇā-pihūḍī [?] *nava-balam kṛdītavayam ᳚*
sadgurubodhena bhava-balam nirjitam ᳚ [2]
mādesi (?) *duam niḥkṛntya ṭhākuram ᳚*
upakārika-uddeśena Kāhna jinapura-sannihitaḥ ᳚ [4]
prathamam **vaṭikām tolaitvā prahātavyam ᳚*
gajavaram tolaitvā pañca-janam kṛḍaya ᳚ [6]
matyā ṭhakkuram parinirvṛtam ᳚
niścayaṁ kṛtvā bhava-balam jitam ᳚ [8]
Kāhna bhanyate mayi uttamaṁ..... ᳚
.....catuḥṣaṣṭi gaṇayitvā grhṇāmi ᳚ [10]

rña bo che=lit. *yaśobheri*, the drum announcing fame. As there is no *rāga* or *rāginī* of that name in the musical treatises it is natural to suppose that the expression has been used to translate *bhairavī* of the Caryā text. *Bhairavī* is a *rāginī*.

1. rgyal mtshan=lit. armorial flag or banner. The Caryā text has *pihāḍi* of which the meaning is not clear. It was probably the piece of cloth with diagrams used for chess-playing. Rgyan po=lit. a stake or pledge at play;—it stands for *naa bala* of the Caryā text—the chess.

2. bla ma'i gsuñ=the precept or instruction of the Guru. The Caryā text has *sadguru bohē* [*sadgurubodhena*].

3. phyogs su=to go aside, to turn, *abhimukha*; it is used to translate *mādeśi* of the Caryā text. I do not venture to correct the word as its sense is not clear to me. The Skt. commentary renders it as—*militam*. Du. a' is the transcription of *duā* of the Caryā text which the commentator explains as *ābhāsadvayam* [Tib. snañ ba gñis po]. Bskul—is evidently used to translate both in the text and the commentary—*phīṭau*. The Sanskrit comm. explains the word as *nīhkrntitam*; bskul skul pa means “to exhort, to excite, admonish, etc.”

4. phan thabs=lit. *upakārika-uddesa*. The Caryā text has *taāri uesa* which should be corrected as *uāri uesē* as we have in the Skt. comm.—*upakārikopadeśena*.

5. mi rañ=a man walking on foot without any load to carry. This probably renders *baḍiā*—“the chess-man.”

5-6. bton na, bton nas—the meaning is uncertain. If it be derived from “gtod pa” then it should mean “to deliver up, commit to another, to turn, direct, etc.” The Caryā text has in line 5, *toḍiā* and in line 6, *tolia*; *toḍiā* > Skt. *truṭ* means “to break, cut,” and if *tolia* be the right form it may be derived from the root *tula* meaning “to raise, to hold up.” I think this latter form is translated in Tibetan in both the cases. Bengali preserves an idiom *tule mārā* “to kill or strike with a dash.”

6. rtse—from the root ‘rtse ba’; cf. line 1. The Caryā text has *gholiu*, but the Tibetan translator had evidently before him *kheliu*.

7. blo yis=by the mind, *matyā*. The Caryā text has *matiṣ*. There was no doubt a double meaning attached to the word, the second being connected with *mantriṇā* "by the minister" which has not been brought out by the Tibetan translation.

rgyan pa=a mistake for rgyal po.

8. nes bar=sure, certain—*niścayam*; *avaśa* of the Caryā text should be taken in the sense of *avaśyam*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XIII.

The translation of the 13th Caryā is missing. The Tibetan translation stops in the middle of the commentary on Caryā XII with *yogīndrasya tathatā*—[p. 23, line 17 of the edition of Śāstrī; Tib. p. 178^b end: rnal 'byor gyid bar phyug gi de gshin] and recommences in the middle of the commentary on Caryā XIII *tathendriyāṇi | pañcaiva pañcaiva kṛta-prabhedāḥ* || [p. 25, line 6 of the edition of Śāstrī; Tib. 179^a1—de bshin dbaṅ po rnams | lda ṇid lda ṇid raṅ rgyaṅ bye ba byas ba las ||]. The lacuna seems to be amounting to one full page of the xylograph and may have been due to the printers of the Narthang edition. It may be found in other editions, which are not however available in Calcutta.

The 13th Caryā is attributed to the authorship of Kṛṣṇācāryapāda.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XIV.

[179^a5-179^b7]

Dha. ni. sī shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs
Dom-bhi-pai' shabs kyi'o ||
Gam. gā daṅ ni Ya. mu. na dbus rtsad pa 'bab |
der shugs gdol pa'i bu mo rol pas sgrol bar byed || [2]
bskyod cig Dam. bhi kye bskyod cig Dom-bhi'i
lam ni draṅ po la |
bla ma dam pa'i shabs kyi drin gyis slar yaṅ
rgyal ba'i po braṅ 'gro || [4]
kye ba 'dsin pa lda yis grur 'jug' skul byed gdaṅ bu
rgyab tu bciṅs |
nam mkha'i rko ba chu yis bron bas mtshams nas
chu ni 'byuṅ ma 'gyur || [6]
zla ba fi ma gñis kyi 'khor lo skyed daṅ snad pa
pu. lin. dā |
gyon daṅ gyas pa gñis kyi lam mi bsam shin rgyun
mi 'chad par 'bal || [8]
Dom. bhi'i gron bu mi len raṅ gi 'dod pas rol
sgrol bar byed |
gaṅ shig de la shugs nas 'grod mi ses phan tshun
nogs su 'byeṅ || [10]

Dhanisī iti rāgaḥ Dombhīpādānām |
Gaṅgā-yamunā-madhye mārgaṁ vahati |
tatra praviśya mataṅga-kanyā līlayā muktam karoti || [2]
bāhaya, bho dombhī, bāhaya, dombhī-mārgaṁ saralam |
sad-guru-pāda-prasādena punaḥ jina-puraṁ gaccha || [4]
bho kenipātaka-pañcakam naukāyāḥ maṅga-deśe
bāhanārtham, kacchikā prṣṭhe baddhā |
gagana-dukkholena jalam siñcatu sandhi [sthalena]
jalam na praviśati [cet] || [6]

candra-sūryau dvi-cakrau sṛṣṭi-saṁhāra-pulindā |
uttara-dakṣiṇau dvi-mārgau na dṛśyete svacchandena
vāhaya || [8]
ḍombhinyah kapardaka-grahaṇam na, svecchayā pāram
kriyate |
ya ārohaṇena gantum na jñāti itastataḥ kulam
karoti || [10]

The name of the *rāga* is transcribed in Tibetan as Dha. ni-sī = *Dhanisī*, but in the Caryā text it is given as *Dhanasī*.

The name of *Ḍombīpāda* is always transcribed as *Ḍombhī* with an aspirate.

1. *rtsad pa*—literally means “track, place of being;” here it is used to translate *naī* (<*naukā*) of the Caryā text. The translation however is not literal; it renders the esoteric sense of the word as *avadhūti-mārga*.

2. *shugs*—lit. that which enters. The Caryā text has *budīlī* < *bud* to sink, to go into the water. The word is found in Bengali and has probably originated by metathesis from *dobā* < root *dub* which has the same sense. *Gdol pa'i bu mo*—the daughter of a low-caste man; the Caryā text has *mātangī. rol pas sgrol bar byed*—lit. playfully releases, *līlayā muktam karoti* which renders the sense of the Caryā—*līle pāra kareī*. The Caryā text has another word *poiā* before *līle* which is not translated in Tibetan. But the commentary has *yogīndra*. It should therefore be corrected as *joiā* < *yogin*.

3. *drañ po*—straight; the Caryā text has *uchārā*.

4. *shabs kyī drin gyis* = *pāda prasādena*. *pāa-paē* of the Caryā therefore should be corrected as *pāa-pasāe*.

'*gro*—is in the imperative = *gaccha* but the Caryā text has *jāiba* (*gacchāmi*).

5. '*dsin pa*: the expression literally means “to hold, to seize” and hence “that, which holds, a support, etc.”

The Caryā text has *keḍuāla* meaning probably the helm. In Caryā VIII. 8, *keḍuāla* has been translated as *gru sku*.

5, 6, 7. In these three lines there is a number of words for different parts of the boat: 'dsin pa = *keḍuāla* of the text; grur 'jug = *māṅga* of the text (meaning the hinder part of the boat); gdañ bu = *kācchī* of the text (the Tib. literally meaning—the step of a ladder); rko ba = *dukhola* of the text (the Tib. literally meaning that which is hollow); and pu-lin-dā = *pulindā* of the text. These words are no longer familiar and they require explanation.

Keḍuāla seems to be connected with Skt. *kenipāta*, *kenipātaka*, which is a synonym for *aritra*, helm. Cf. Hemacandra, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, III. 543—*kenipātaḥ koṭipātramaritṛe*. In the Caryā text the number of *keḍuāla* is given as five, which may lead to the supposition that 'oars' are meant by it. But for 'oars' there are in Sanskrit *kṣepaṇī*, *naukādaṇḍa*, etc.

Māṅga is found as *maṅgo* in Hemacandra, *ibid*, III. 542, in the sense of the upper part of the boat; *maṅgo maṅginīśīraḥ* (*maṅginī*, according to him, meaning a boat).

Dukhola is probably used in the sense of *sekapātra* or *secanī*, i.e., the instrument by which water is thrown out.

Pulindā is found in Hemacandra (*ibid*, III, 542) as *polindā* meaning *antaradaṇḍa*, i.e., the post planted in the middle of the boat, i.e., the mast. That is at least the meaning attributed to the word by Hemacandra. But other lexicographers do not seem to agree about it. In the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* it is explained as *pādāraka*, while the *Śabdakalpadrūma* avoids a definition by simply explaining it as *naukāvayavabheda* (a particular part of the boat).

8. bsam : lit. see, *drśyate*. The Caryā text has *revai* which should therefore be corrected as *cevai* (< skt. \sqrt{ci}).

9. gron bu mi len : lit. does not take a cowrie—*kapardakam na gṛhṇāti*. The Caryā text has *kavadi na lei bodi na lei*. The

second part has not been translated into Tib. probably because it has the same sense.

10. phan tshun ñogs su 'byeñ : lit.—'here and there[near the bank do [go]]' which probably means that [the fools] who do not know how to cross the river by availing of the boat travel on the bank here and there. The Caryā text has *kule kula budai* which should be corrected as *kulē kulē bulaï*. Cf. the commentary: *kule śarīre bhramanti—bālā iti*. This is the sense in which the Tibetan translator understands it. But if the reading *budai* is retained the expression would mean—[they] sink their *kula* [spiritual attainments] near the bank; *budai* means 'to sink' and *kula* is also used in the sense of "spiritual attainments."

THE CARYĀPADAS

XV.

[180^a4-7]

dga' bar byed pa shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Sā. nti. pa'i
shabs kyi'o ॥
raṅ rig raṅ bshin rnam dbyod pa
mtshan űid med la mtshan du med ॥
gaṅ gaṅ lam ni draṅ por soṅ
de yi lam ni gshan du soṅ ॥ [2]
lus kyi űo bo mi űes pa
rmoṅs pa'i lam draṅ 'khor ba pa ॥
sgra rtse ti. la 'bru cig ma yo
rgyal po yi ni gser la log ॥ [4]
sgyur ma la rmoṅs rgya mtsho yis
mtha's daṅ gtiṅ űid mi rtogs pa'i ॥
mñon du gru rgyal rjas mi mthoṅ
'khrul pa mgon la cis mi 'dri ॥ [6]
stoṅ pa'i lam du mtshan ma mthoṅ
'khrul pa'i bag chags kyi mi 'gro ॥
'di yis dños grub chen po brgyad
draṅ bo'i lam du bas 'grub ॥ [8]
lto byaṅ gñis kyi lam 'phraṅ spaṅs
Sā. ntis űied sduṅ gsal bar smras ॥
khral sa űo kham dgag me pa'i
mig gis űes ba'i lam la 'gro ॥ [10]

*Rāma-kṛ īti nāma rāgaḥ Śāntipādānām ॥
sva-saṁvedana-svarūpa-vicāre
alakṣaṇe lakṣaṇam nāsti ॥
yaḥ yaḥ rju-mārga gataḥ
saḥ saḥ mārge anyatra gataḥ ॥ [2]*

kāya-svabhāvam na jñāti
mūḍhasya rju-mārgaṁ saṁsāraṁ |

.....
rāja-mārge kanaka-dhārā || [4]

māyā-moha-samudrasya
antam gabhīratvam na jñāsi |
agre vṛhat-naukā bhelā [vā] na dṛśyate
nātham bhrāntyā na prechasi || [6]
śūnya-mārgasya lakṣaṇaṁ na dṛśyate
bhrānti-vāsanayā na gaccha |
eṣā mahāśiddhiḥ aṣṭa

rju-mārga-gamanena siddhyati || [8]
vāma-dakṣiṇau dvau kṣaṭa-mārgau parityajya
Śāntinā atyanta-sphuṭatayā ucyate
daṇḍa-śulka-bādhā na bhavanti
cakṣusā jñāte pathi gacchatu || [10]

The name of the *rāga* is given as *dga'* bar byed pa—which literally means *ramaṇa-karaṇam*. It therefore seems that the Tib. translator took the name as *rāma-kr*. The Caryā text has *Rāma-kṛ*.

3. *lus kyī nō bo mi śes pa*—lit. does not know the essence of the body—*kāyāsvabhāvam na jñāti*; this has no agreement with the Caryā text, which has instead: *kule kula mā hoire*. *Kule* is explained in the commentary as *pratyekaśarīre*.

4. The first part—*sgra rtse ti. la 'bru cig ma yo*—is not clear. '*sgra rtse*' which may mean 'sharp voice' has no bearing here. *ti. la 'bru cig ma yo*=the grain of *tila* is not one. The Caryā text has *bāla bhīṇa eku bāku na bhulaha*.

5. *gtiṇ ṇid*=depth. The Caryā text has *thākā* for which cf. modern Bengali *thaī* "depth."

6. '*mñon*' seems to be a mistake for '*mdun*' as the Caryā text has *āge <agre* "in the front." '*rjas*' also seems to be erroneous as the Caryā text has *bhelā* 'a raft' but '*rjas*' means 'afterwards.' '*rjas*' may be a mistake for

'rdsas' which means "a big and hollow earthen pot." In the rivers of the hill-tracts these pots are often used for the purpose of crossing the rivers. Mgon la=the chief or lord; the Caryā text has *nāhā* which seems to be derived from *nātha*.

7. *ston pa'i lam*=the road of vacuity—*śūnya-mārga* but the text has *sunāpāntara*, i.e., *śūnyaprāntara*. 'khrul pa'i bags chags kyis mi 'gro=do not go by entertaining error—*bhrānti-vāsanayā na gaccha*. The text has : *bhānti na vāsasi jānte*. *jānte* seems to be used in the sense of "while going" from the root *yā*.

9. *ñed sduñ gsal bar smras*: speaks very clearly. *atyānta-sphūṭatayā ucyate*. The Caryā text has *bolutheü samkelu*.

10. *khral sa so kham dgag me pa'i*=The Caryā text : *ghāṭa na gumā khaḍataḍi no* [sic *na*] *hoi*.

mig gis ses ba'i—lit. [the road] known through the eyes. The Caryā text has : *ākhi bujia*—[take the road] by closing the eyes—meaning thereby that the road is very straight.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XVI.

[181^b2-5]

rña bo che shes bya b'ai glu dbyaṅs
sa 'dsin shabs kyi'o ॥
rnam gsum sbyor shiñ gshom med
sgra ni rab 'jigs glañ chen sgrogs ॥
de thos bdud rnam sgrag byed kyi
ma yul gyi dkyil 'khor thams cad 'joms ॥ [2]
sems ñid myos ber gyur ba'i glañ chen dbaṅ po rgyug ॥
rgyug mi 'chañ par namkha'i phyogs su ñi zla 'khor ॥ [4]
dge sdeg gñis kyi leags sgrog
then nas ka ba'i gnas su ñed bar byed ॥
namkha' gshom med sgra du gyur nas
sems ni mya ñan 'das bar shugs ॥ [6]
bcuñ chen btuñ myos kham s gsum
ma lus gtañ sñoms so ॥
yul lda 'dren byed gañ la gañ du
hañ mi mthun phyags mi mthoñ ॥ [8]
mi zad ñi mas rab tu gduñs pas
namkha'i 'khor sar 'gro shiñ sleb ॥
ma. hen. dra yis smras pa 'di la
byen te ci yañ ñas ma mthoñ ॥ [10]

*Bhairavī iti nāma rāgaḥ Mahidharapādānām ॥
trīṣu pāṭeṣu anāhataṁ śabdaṁ bibhīṣanam gajendraḥ karoti ॥
tat śrutvā mārāḥ śabdaṁ kurvantaḥ viṣayamaṇḍalān
sarvaṁ bhagnaṁ ॥ [2]
citta eva mattaḥ gajendraḥ dhāvati ॥
nirantaram anavarataṁ gaganoddeśe sūrya-candrau
gholayati ॥ [4]
pāpapūṇya-dvayaṁ śṛṅghalaṁ ākṛṣya stambha-sthānam
vimardya ॥
gagane anāhataṁ śabdaṁ sañjātataḥ cittaḥ nirvānam
praviṣṭaḥ ॥ [6]*

mahārāsa-pānena mattaḥ tribhūvanam nikhilam upekṣitam |
pañca-viśaya-nāyaka kutra ko'pi vipakṣaḥ na dṛśyate || [8]
khara-sūryasya vikiraṇena gaṇa-maṇḍala-sthānam

gatvā praviṣṭa |

Mahendra bhananti asmīn kimapi na dṛṣṭam || [10]

1. sbyor shiñ—'shiñ' seems to be a mistake for 'śiñ'—wood; sbyor śiñ—would therefore mean 'woods fastened together.' The Caryā text has *pātṣ* which has also the meaning of "flat wood"; gshom med=*anāhata* (text *aṇaha*). rab jigs=very terrific, *bhayāṅkara*; the Caryā text has *kaṣaṇa* (<*krṣṇa* ?) which is explained in the Sanskrit commentary as *bhayāṇakam*.

2. sgrag byed kyi—lit. that which shouts; the text has *bhayāṅkara*; yul gyi dkyil 'khor thams cad 'joms=*viśaya-madhye maṇḍala sarvaṁ vinasṭam*; the text has *saa maṇḍala saēla bhājaī* which should be corrected as *visaa maṇḍala saala bhājaī*.

4. ñi zla 'khor—lit. "turns round the sun and the moon." The Caryā text has *tusṣ gholai* (of which *tusṣ* is not clear)—explained in the commentary as *candra-sūrya-divā-rātri-vikalpam gholayitvā*.

6. namkha'...nas—lit. 'as the *anāhata* sound was produced in the sky' but the Caryā text has *gaṇa tūkali lāgi re* which seems to mean 'on reaching the top of the sky.'

7. namkha'i 'khor sar—lit. *gaṇa-maṇḍala-sthāna*; the text has simply *gaṇāṅgaṇa* (= *gaganāṅgaṇa*).

8. It is to be noted that the name of the author is faithfully translated at the beginning as *Mahādhara* but here it is transcribed as *Mahendra* which seems to be due to a wrong form occurring in the text that the translator had before him. In the present Caryā text there is again a wrong form: *Mahittā* which seems to be a mistake for *Mahīā*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XVII.

[182^b3-5]

Pa-ta-ha-ma-ñja-rī'i glu dbyaṅs Pi wañ shabs kyi'o ॥
 ñi ma'i ku ba zla brgyud la sbyar ॥
 gshom med dpyig drañ a-va-dhu-ti byas ॥ [2]
 kye grogs He-ru-ka yi Pi wañ sgrogs ॥
 rgyud kyi sgra ñid sñiñ rjes sgrogs pa can ॥ [4]
 ā-li kā-li gñis kyi gña' non ses ॥
 bza' mehog no mñam mtshams rnam pa rtsi byas nas ॥ [6]
 gañ la śiñ dan śiñ bu mnan gyur na ॥
 de tshe rgyud sgra de yis kun tu khyab ॥ [8]
 sgyal po gañ byed lha mo glu byed ॥
 saṅs rgyas gar ni khyañ par ñid du dka' ॥ [10]

*Paṭahamañjarī rāgaḥ Vināpādānām ॥
 sūrya-alābu candra-tantriyām lagna ॥
 anāhata-daṇḍam avadhuti kṛtaṁ ॥ [2]
 bho sakhi ! heruka-viṇā vādati ॥
 tantrī-dhvani sakarūṇaṁ vilasati ॥ [4]
 āli-kāli dvayaṁ śārikā jānīhi ॥
 gajavarah(?) sama-[rasa]-sandhi-samūhāni guṇitvā ॥ [6]
 yadā karahaḥ karahakalam capayati ॥
 tadā tantrī-dhvani sarvatram vyāpnoti ॥ [8]
 rājā nr̥tyati devī gītaṁ karoti ॥
 Buddha-nāṭakaṁ visamaṁ ॥ [10]*

Pi wañ is the translation of Vinā.

2. dpyig drañ : 'drañ' means 'straight' (*riu*) but 'dpyig' is not found in the dictionary. There is 'dpyi' which means 'belly'—*kukṣi*. It seems to be a mistake for dbyig (dbyig pa, dbyi gu) which means 'a small stick'—*daṇḍa*; the same sense

is required by the text (*dāṇḍi*); *draṇ*—seems to convey the sense of ‘making straight.’ The text has *bāki kiata* which is without doubt a mistake for *eki kiata* (com. *ekīkṛtya*).

4. *sgrogs pa*—lit. *ghoṣati*; the Caryā text has *vilasāi* (*vilasati*).

5. *gña’ non : non* (>*gnon pa*) means ‘to press.’ *gña’ ba*=neck; the expression probably means ‘that which presses the neck’ (P). The Caryā text has *Sāri*. *Sāri* seems to be the same as *śārikā*, a small piece of wood used for striking the strings of the *Vīṇā*. It is also called *koṇa*—cf. Hema-candra, *Abhidhān*. II. 201 : *atha śārikā śyāt koṇo vīṇādivādanam*.

6. *mtshams rnam pa rtsi byas nas*—lit. counting the junctions. The Caryā text has *sāndhi guṇiā* which the comm. explains *sandhir-doṣacchidra guṇitvāt*...; *Sandhi* in this case has really the sense of ‘the points of approach.’

7. *Śiṇ daṇ śiṇ bu mnan gyur na* : lit. ‘when the wood and the small wood are pressed.’ The Caryā text has *karahā karahaka lepi ciu* which should be corrected as *karahā karahakale cāpiu*.

9. *rgyal po gaṇ byed*; ‘gaṇ’ is a mistake for ‘gar’—‘to dance.’ The expression literally means—‘the king dances.’ The Caryā text has *nācanti bājila* which the comm. explains as *vajradharapādena nṛtyaṁ kurvanti*. But the Tibetan translator had probably a text in which *bājila* (<*vajrila*) occurred as *rājila* through the copyist’s mistake. This confusion between *va* and *ra* may be easily explained by supposing that the ms. had been written in the Bengali script.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XVIII.

[188^b3-5]

glu dbyaṅs chen po shes bya ba nag po spyod
pa'i shabs kyi'o ॥
sa gsum po la bdag ni 'bad med 'dsug ॥
bdag ni ñal nas bde ba chen pos rol ॥ [2]
ji ltar dom-bhi-ni khyod skra yaṅ kye ॥
mtha' rigs skye ba'i naṅ na kā-pā-li ॥ [4]
kya mkhyod ni rnam daṅ ñams byed de ॥
bya ba byed pa ri boṅ 'dsin pa 'joms ॥ [6]
gaṅ daṅ gaṅ yaṅ khyod na ñan par brjod ॥
rigs ldan skye bo khyod kyi mgul nas 'khyud ॥ [8]
'dod pa gtum mo'i glu ni Kā-nhas blaṅs ॥
gaṅ la pa mo bas lhag pa'i dmaṅs rigs med ॥ [10]

rāgaḥ gavadā iti Kṛṣṇacaryā-pādānām ॥
bhūvana-trayaṁ mayā avahelayā vāhitaṁ ॥
ahaṁ suptaḥ mahāsukhena kṛdayā ॥ [2]
kidyāi bho dombhīni tava varvarī ॥
anta-kulīna-jana-madhye kāpāli ॥ [3]
bho trayā sarvaṁ vināśitavyaṁ ॥
kāryakaraṇārthaṁ śaśadharaṁ nihataṁ ॥ [6]
ke'pi ke'pi tram kuṭilā [iti] vadati ॥
kulīna-janāḥ tava kaṇṭhāśleśanam karoti ॥ [8]
kāma-caṇḍālyāḥ gītaṁ Kānhena gītaṁ ॥
yad-strī-adhikā vṛṣalī nāsti ॥ [10]

1. 'bad med—lit. without care, carelessly ; the Caryā text has *helē* ; 'dsug—from 'dsugs pa—lit. to push down ; the Caryā text has *bāhia* which the Skt. commentary explains as

vādhita. But the Tib. translation seems to be correct in taking the word in the sense of *vāhita*.

2. rol—play, *krīḍā*. The Caryā text has *līḍē* which may be thus corrected as *līḷē* (< Skt. *līlayā*).

3. skra yañ—curly hair. The Tib. Dictionary gives as Sanskrit equivalent *varvari* which may be compared to modern Bengali *bāb(a)ri* 'long-flowing hairs.' The text has *bhābhari-āli* probably meaning "one who has curly hairs." The word *varvarikaḥ* is found in some of the Sanskrit lexicons in the sense of *kuṭīla-kuntalaḥ* (*Uṇādikōṣa*).

4. mtha' rigs skye ba'i—the meaning is not quite clear; mtha'—lit. end, *anta*. The whole expression thus may be restored as *anta-kulīnajanānām*. The Caryā text has *ante kulīnajaṇa* where *ante* is explained in the Skt. commentary as *bāhye*.

6. bya ba byed pa—may be taken to mean "for doing the work"—*kāryakaraṇārthaṁ*. The text has *kājaṇa kāraṇa*. ri boñ 'dsin pa—lit. "hare hold," i.e., *śaśa[ka]-dhara*. The text has *sasahara*, i.e., *śaśadhara* "moon."

7. ñan par—lit. *kuṭīla*; *viruā* has the text (from *virūpa*) which may be also taken in the same sense.

8. For rigs ldan skye bo (*kulīnajanah*) the text has *bidujana* (*vidvat-jana*). The Skt. commentary explains *lidu-jana* as *prādesikā-yogīndrāḥ*; *mgul nas 'khyud*—lit. embrace by the neck; the text has *kaṇṭha na melaī* (sic *melaī*) which means—"do not leave [*na parityajanti*] the neck."

9. For 'dod pa gtum mo'i glu—*kāmacaṇḍālyāḥ gītaṁ* the text has simply *kāmacaṇḍāli*.

10. The sense of this line is not clear. The Tib. literally means: than which woman (i.e., *dombi*) a greater harlot does not (exist). The Caryā text is however more explicit: *dombi taāgali* (corr. *ta āgali*) *nāhi cchināli*. *Cchināli* in Bengali has the same meaning as *vṛṣalī* 'dmaṅs rigs.'

THE CARYĀPADAS

XIX.

[184^b4-5]

Bhai-ra-ba'i shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs
Nag-po spyod pa'i shabs kyi'o |
srid daṅ mya ṇaṅ las 'das pa-ṭa-ha daṅ rṇa bo che |
yid la rluṅ dag gñis po khar rṇa sgrogs par byed ||[2]
rgyal gyur rgyal gyur mkha'la mchen sgra |
Kā-hnas ḍom-bhi-ni ni bag mar blaṅs ||[4]
gyuṅ mo'i bag ma len pa'i kha zas skyar |
shal mthoṅ son mo bla med choṅ ṇid do ||[6]
ñin mtshan sin tu dga' ba'i grogs daṅ 'grogs |
rṇal 'byor ma'i dra bar nam laṅs gyur ||[8]
kye yi ḍom-bhi grogs daṅ gaṅ dga' |
skad cig mi 'dor lhan cig skyes pas myor ||[10]

Bhairavī iti rāgaḥ Kṛṣṇacaryāpādānām |
bhava-nirvāṇam pātaka-dīṇḍimam |
manapabāṇau dvau dhakkā-dhvanim kurutaḥ ||[2]
jaya jaya [iti] ākāśe mahān śabdah |
Kāhṇena ḍombhi-vadhū gṛhitā ||[4]
ḍombi-vadhūm gṛhitvā janmam khāditaṁ |
yautukena anuttaram dharmam ||[6]
aharṇiṣaṁ atīṣayena ānandena surata-prasaṅgam karoti |
yogini-jāle rajanī vāhitā ||[8]
bho ! ḍombi-saṅgam ye'pi kurvanti |
kṣaṇamapi na tyajanti sahaḥ unmattāḥ ||[10]

1. rṇa bo che—a large drum announcing fame, *yaśobheri*, *dīṇḍima*. 'rṇa' means 'a tambour, a drum etc.' The text has *mādulā*, which though a kind of drum is not specially used for announcing fame.

2. *khar rña sgrogs par byed* : 'khar rña' probably means a drum-like instrument made of bell-metal, as 'khar' means bell metal (*kāṁśa*). The text however has *karaṇḍa kaśālā* which is not clear. The two words may either mean two different instruments or may be a mistake for *karaṁ kaśālā*, "beating the instrument made of bell metal (?)."

3. *mkha' la mchen sgra*—The text has: *duṇḍubhi sāda uchaliā* which is explained in the skt. commentary as *duṇḍubhi-śabdādīkaṁ ākāśe prabhūtam*.

5. *skyar*—seems to be a mistake for 'skyed' as the text has *jāma (janma)*, 'birth.'

6. *choñ ñid do*—*choñ* is evidently a mistake for 'chos.' The text has *dhāmā* which is taken to be derived from *dharma* and translated as 'chos' cf. *Caryā* XXII. 12. But the word in this particular case may be better taken in the sense of *dhāman* 'abode' but this sense is missed by the translator.

I have not been able to ascertain the meaning of—*shal mthoñ son mo*—an expression used for translating *yantuka* 'dowry' of the text.

rnal 'byor ma'i—should be corrected as *rnal 'byor mo'i—yogini*.

10. 'dor—from 'dor ba means to cast forth, to abandon,—*chāḍaa*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XX.

[185^b1-3]

Pa-ṭa-ha-mañja-rī-shes-bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Ku-kku-ri-'i
shabs kyi'o—

bdag ni chags med nam-mkha'i yid kyi bdag |
bdag gi ṅams myoṅ ji ltar smra rgyu med || [2]
kyi mi khyod spaṅs nas mtha' mar lta |
gaṅ shig 'dir ni 'bab pa de 'dir med || [4]
daṅ por bdag gi rnam śes bag chags gtums |
rtsa la rnam dypod de ṅid pā-bu-ṭā || [6]
bdag ni gshon mu dar ma rjogs par gyur |
rtsa bar ltuṅ ba ṅe bar sdud par byed || [8]
Ku-kku-rī-pa'i srid ba brtan par smra |
'di ni gaṅ śes de ni dpa' bo ste || [10]

Paṭahamañjarī iti nāma rāgaḥ Kukkuripādānām ||
aḥaṁ āsaṅga-rahitā khamanaḥ [mama] bhartā |
mama [sukha]-vijñānaṁ kīdṛśaṁ kathitum na śakyate || [2]
bho mātar ! surata-kriyayā [mayā] antaṁ dṛśtaṁ |
yad atra vāhitaṁ tad atra nāsti || [4]
prathamam mama vijñānaṁ vāsanā chinṇā |
nāḍī vicāryamāṇe sū eva bāpuḍā || [6]
mama [nava]-yauvanaṁ paripūrṇaṁ bhūtaṁ |
mūlaṁ pātitaṁ [yat] samīpasthaṁ [tat] saṁgr̥hitaṁ || [8]
Kukkuri (pāde)na bhaṇitaṁ bhavaḥ sthiraḥ |
etad yena jñātaṁ sa eva viraḥ || [10]

1. chags med—lit. he who has no association—*anāsaṅga*.
The text has *nirāsī* which is explained in the commentary

as *āsaṅgarahitā*. *nammkha'i yid kyi bdag*—lit. the lord of the mind of vacuity—*khamanasaḥ bhartā*, *khamaṇa-bhartā*. The text has—*khamaṇa-bhatāre* which should be corrected as *khamaṇa-bhatāri* in order to make it rhyme with *kahaṇa na jāi* of the second line ; it means one of whom the husband is *khamaṇa*—vacuity of mind.

2. *ñams myoṇ*—lit. experience ; according to Jäschke it means—delight, enjoyment. It may have the sense of a delightful experience'. The text has—*bigoā* which seems to be derived from *viññāna*. That a sense of delight is mixed with this experience is proved by the commentary—*viśiṣṭasaṃyogākṣara-sukhānubhavaḥ* (bde ba chen po'i 'khor le'i khyim du...). The analogy of sexual act has been introduced into the text in order to explain the blissful experience of beatitude.

3. *khyod spaṅs nas*—the meaning of this expression is not quite clear ; *spaṅs*—is derived from *spag-pa* which means “to stain, to pollute” whereas ‘*khyod*’ particularly in the combination ‘*khyod śugs*’ means “pairing, uniting.” The text has *phetalü* (com. *phītalesī* to be corrected as *phītale* for the sake of metre), conveys the sense of “separating, extending” (*phīṭ-phāt* < *sphāt*). It seems that the word has been used to convey the sense of “sexual act” ; cf. the commentary—*suratābhiṣvaṅgena*. *Mtha' mar lta*—lit. “see the end” ; but it seems that the Tibetan translator has not understood the sense of the original. The text has *antaüḍi cāhi*—*antaḥkūṭam paśyāmi*—“I see the cottage inside” (cf. the commentary—*mahāsukha-cakra-svakuṭam drṣtvā*—) ; *antaüda* seems to be connected with the Bengali word *āstākud*—the special kind of cottage to which the woman is confined at the time of labour. That is the sense which is wanted by the analogy of ‘sexual act.’

4. 'bab pa—“to move downwards, to come down”—which is used evidently to translate *bāhāma* of the text (< *bāhayāmi*—to row down). The commentary renders it

by *paśyāmi* which suggests another reading—*cāhāma*—“I see” which is a much better reading.

5. *dañ por bdag gi rnam śes—prathamam mama vijñānam*—the first experience of mine. The text has *pahila biāṇa* which the translator has apparently understood as *prthamam vijñānam*. But *biāṇa* (< *vedanā* ?) in Bengali means “child birth.” This is the meaning which is implied in the comm. ; *ādaṁ samvṛttivāsanāpūṭam kāyo’ yaṁ prasūtam* and also intended by the analogy of ‘sexual act.’ Chags gtums—“the desires cut to pieces,” the text has *bāsanapūḍā* to be corrected as *bāsanapūḍā* for the sake of rhyme which really means “the collection, the totality of desires.” It seems that the Tibetan translator has read it as *bāsana pūḍā*—“the desires are burnt” but see the commentary—*saṁvṛtti-vāsanāpūṭam*.

6. *pā.pu.ṭā*—wrong transcription for *bā. pu. dā*—*bāpuḍā* which means “one who is unfortunate”—*varāki, katabhāgyaḥ*.

7. *gshon mu dar ma*—both the expressions mean “youth”—*tārunya, yauvana*; they have been used probably to bring out the sense of “first youth”—*nava-yauvana* (cf. the comm.). The text has *jāṇa yauvana* which should be corrected as *jā ṇa yauvana*....

8. *ltuñ ba*—the perfect and future form of—*lhuñ ba* which literally means “to fall, to fall down.” The text has *nakhali* which is not clear. The commentary however explains the word as *nikṛttih* which agrees with the Tibetan translation.

ñe bar sdud par byed—lit. that which is near has been collected—*yaṁ samīpastham tat saṁgrhītam*. The text has *bāpa saṁghāra* which is not clear at all. The Tibetan translator seems to have conveyed the sense implied in the commentary—*manimule manyantargate*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXI

[186^a 3-5]

ba-rā-tī shes bya ba la sogs pa'i glu dbyaṅs 'du śeṣ gsum
pa'i shabs kyi'o—

mtshan mo mun par byi ba rgyu bed ciñ |
bdud rtsi ri kha zas byi bas za bar byed || [2]
kyi rnal 'byor rluñ byi ma bsad ci |
gañ gis 'gro dañ 'oñ ba ma bkag na || [4]
srid pa rnam 'joms byi bas rtsig pa 'bugs |
gyo ba'i byi bas snoñ rnam za shin 'joms || [5]
byi ba sgra geaṅ spu dañ kha dog med |
nam mkha' rkañ pas 'gro shin yid kyi chos || [8]
de tshe byi ba 'pyod shin rab tu 'gro |
bla ma dam pa'i gsuñ gis gyo med bya || [10]
gañ du byi ba 'di yi rkañ pa beañ byas na |
de tshe beñs grol Bhu.su.ku.la smra || [12]

nīśi kṛṣṇā mūṣakah carāṇaṁ karoti |
amṛta-bhākṣaṇaṁ mūṣakah [āhāraṁ] karoti [2]
bho yogin ! pabaṇa-mūṣakaṁ māraya |
yena gaman-āgamaṇaṁ na trutyati ||
bhava-vināśakah mūṣakah bhittim khaṇati |
cañcalah mūṣakah ... khādati nāśayati ca || [6]
kṛṣṇa-roma-viśiṣṭasya mūṣakasya varṇaṁ nāsti |
[sah] gagaṇaṁ gatvā carati manodharmaṁ || [8]
tadā mūṣakah cañcalah pragacchati |
sad-guru-vākyaṇa taṁ niścalaṁ kartavyaṁ || [10]
yadā asya mūṣakasya carāṇaṁ trutyati |
tadā bandhanaṁ mucyate [iti] Bhu.su.ku bhaṇati || [12]

1. mtshan mo mun par—lit. “the night is dark.” The text has *nisia andhārī* which should be corrected as *nisi andhārī*; byi ba rgyu bed—“the mouse moves about”; rgyu ba—means “to move”—*carana*; The text has *susāra cārā* which should be corrected as—*musāra cārā*.

2. bdud rtsi—ambrosia; the text has *amīa* < *amṛta*. Ri kha ?.

3. rluñ byi ma—lit. the wind mouse—*pabaṇa-mūṣakaḥ*; cf. the commentary—*sa eva mūṣakaḥ cittapabaṇa*.

4. ma bkag na—lit., not opposed, not obstructed, *na pratihatam* [*bhavati*]; the commentary has *na trutyati*. The text—*jēṇa tuṭaa avaṇū gavaṇū* should therefore be corrected as *jē ṇa tuṭaa...*

5. rnam 'joms—to kill well—*vināśana*; the text has *bindāraa* (< *vidāraka*) which conveys the same sense.

rtsig pa 'bugs—“to pierce through the side wall,” which I have rendered as *bhittim khaṇati*. The text has—*khaṇaa gāti*; *gāti* may be derived from *gartta*—‘a hole’ but the commentary, apparently without justification explains it as *gati* implying *tiryāṇ-narakādi-durgati-pātāṇca*.

6. snoñ rnam s ?

7. nam mkha' rkañ pas—rkañ pas—seems to be a mistake for *lañ pas* “rising up.” The text has *gaṇe uṭhi*—“rising in the sky”; yid kyi chos—lit. *manodharma*—the *dharma* of the mind. The text has *amaṇa-dhāṇa* which is of course wrong. The Tibetan translator had before him the reading—*maṇa-dhāṇa* (*manodharma*). But that reading also cannot be justified, first of all on account of the rhyme with *uḥa ṇa bāṇa* of the previous line. The commentary explains it as—*paramārtha-bodhicitta-madhupānāsvādanam karoti*. The correct reading of the line therefore seems to be—*gaṇe uṭhi karaa amīa pāṇa*—“(the mouse) going up into the sky drinks the ambrosia.”

9. rab tu 'gro—*prakṛṣṭam gacchati* but the text has *pāñcala*, a part of the expression *uñcala pāñcala*—which conveys the sense of “restlessness.” *cf.* colloquial Bengali—*āñcad pāñcad*.

11. Rkañ pa—seems to be a mistake for—lañ pa—to go up—(*ā*)*caraṇam* (?). The text has *muṣā er co* which is to be corrected as *muṣā acārā*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXII

[187°6-187°1]

Gu-ñja-ri shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Sa-ra-ha'i shabs kyis so |

raṅ gi byas 'khor ba mya ṇan 'das |

log ltas 'jig rten raṅ ṇid 'chiṅ bar byed || [2]

bdag gis mi śes bsam med rnal 'byor pa |

skye daṅ 'chi ba'i srid pa ji ltar yin || [4]

ji ltar skye daṅ 'tsi ba yaṅ ni ṇa bshin du |

gson daṅ śi bdag la khyaṅ par med || [6]

gaṅ 'dir skye 'chi bag la mcho ma med |

de byed gser 'gyur bcud len sgrub bar byed || [8]

gaṅ gi gyo daṅ mi gyoṅ bcas bar 'khyam |

de rnams rga daṅ bar cis mi 'gyur || [10]

ske las las sam ci ste las las skyes |

Sa-ra-has smras bsam med pa de chos || [12]

Guñjari iti nāma rāgaḥ Sarahapādānām—

svayam[eva] racitvā racitvā bhavaṁ nirvāṇaṁ[ca] |

mithyā-drṣṭyā lokaḥ ātma-bandhanam karoti || [2]

mayā na jñātaṁ, acintya-yogino (vayaṁ) |

janma maraṇaṁ bhavaṁca kiḍrṣaṁ bhavanti || [4]

yādrṣaṁ janma maraṇam-api tādrṣaṁ |

jīvitena maraṇena vā prabhedo nāsti || [6]

yo'tra janma-maraṇayoḥ viśaṅkāṁ karoti |

sa karoti suvarṇa-parivartana-rasāyana-sādhanaṁ || [8]

yeṣāṁ sacarācaram bhramaṇam [bhavati] |

te jarāgrastāḥ kena na bhavanti || [10]

janmataḥ kiṁ kāryaṁ kāryataḥ kiṁ janma |

Sarahena bhāṇyate acintyaṁ saḥ dharmah || [12]

2. log ltas—lit. *mithyā-dṛṣṭi*,—*darśanam*; the Caryā text has simply *michē* > *mithyā*.

3. bdag gis—lit. *mayā*; the Caryā text has *ambhe* which should be corrected as *amhe*. Bsam med rnal 'byor pa—*acintyaḥ yogin*;—the Caryā text has *acinta joḥ*.

6. gson dañ—'with life,' *jīvitena*; the Caryā text—*jivante*. Khyañ par med—'there is no difference'—*prabhedaḥ nāsti*; the Caryā text has—*nāhi viśeso* which mean the same thing.

7. gañ 'dir—lit. *yo atra*; therefore *jāēthu* of Caryā text should be corrected as *jā ethu*.

8. gser 'gyur boud len sgrub bar byed—lit. 'practice the alchemy of changing into gold'; the Caryā text has—*karāṁ rasa rasānere kakhā* [*kakhā* seems to be a mistake for *kāṅkhā* < Skt. *kāṁkṣā*]"—"aspires after changing chemically *rasa* (i.e., mercury)." The Tibetan translation is not therefore literal.

9. gyo dañ mi gyoñ beas par—*sa-carācaram*, "together with all that move and do not move"; the Caryā text has *jē sacarācara tiasa* (< *tridaśa*) in Tibetan.

10. The translation is quite different from the text. The Caryā text has—*te ajarāmara kimpī na honti*—"they cannot be immortal in any way."

12. de chos—"that religion" (*sa dharmah*). The Caryā text has *so dhāma*; *dhāma* may be also derived from *dhāman*, "abode."

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXIII

[188^a5-188^b1]

Ba-rā-li shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs 'du śes gsum pa'i
shabs kyi'o—

gaṅ tshe Bhu-su-ku khyod rñon 'gro skye bo lña bo sod ।
pa-dma'i tshal du rab tu 'jug na yid du geig tu gyis ॥ [2]
gson po gsod par ma byed śi ba'i ro ni ma glaṅ eig ।
śa ni med par Bhu-su-ku pa khyim du 'jug ma byed ॥ [4]
sgyu 'phrul dra ba brgyaṅ nas sgyu ma'i

ri dags bsad par gyis ।
bla-ma dam pa'i gsuṅs gis go byed gaṅ du
gaṅ gis gtam ॥ [6]

lus ni bdag gi spon yin ma mas chun daṅ zas ।
dus daṅ dus min gñis gzar rkuṅ lam skyan tshoṅ
skyibs do krug ॥ [8]
rgya daṅ rdo lcags thag pa med par ri dags rgya geig bros ।
'phyor shin 'phyor shin rgyug pas nam mkha'i
ki-la du nub bar gyur । [10]

Barādī iti nāma rāgaḥ Bhusukupādānām—

*yadi Bhusuku tvam ākheṭakam gacchasi pañca-janān mārīṣyasi ।
padmavanam praviśan ekamanāḥ bhaviṣyasi ॥ [2]*

.....
māmsaṃ vinā Bhu-su-kuḥ grhaṃ praviśati na ॥ [4]

*māyā'ālaṃ prasārya māyāharīṇīm māraya ।
sadguruvākyaena buddhye kasya kiṃ vṛttāntam ॥ [6]*

*kāye atmanāḥ varjanam nāsti mālām ca khādati ।
kāla-akāla-dvayaṃ grhītvā
jālaṃ s'ṛṅkhalaṃ ca nāsti hārīṇaḥ jālamekam icchati ।
cañcalaṃ cañcalaṃ calitvā sūnyamadhye astaṃ gataḥ ॥ [10]*

Only the first six lines of the Caryā has been preserved in original. The last few lines and the Sanskrit commentary are entirely lost. The name of the author is given in the Tibetan translation as—'du śes gsum pa ; 'du śes—means *saṃjñā* ; There is no doubt that the name of the author is Bhusuku (cf. ll. 1, 4) but the Tibetan translation is not clear.

1. rñon 'gro—to go a-hunting ; the Caryā text has *aheṛ jāibē* which should be corrected as *aheri-* ; *aheri* means 'hunting.'

2. padma'i tshal du—the lotus forest ; *nalanivana* of the Caryā text be corrected as *naliniivana*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXIV

[89^b4-^c]

Dba bo'i ta la shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Nag po spyod pa'i
shabs kyi'o |

gaṅ tshe zla ba gaṅ bśar gyur pa |
de tshe sems kyi rgyal po dri ma med || [2]
gti mug dri ma gcod pa bla ma'i gsun |
yul daṅ dbaṅ po nam mkhar sleb bar 'gyur || [4]
mkha' mtshuṅs sa bor gan shig mkha' mūam 'gro |
raṅ gi śiṅ las khamś gsum grab mas khyab || [5]
ji ltar ṅin byed śar bas mtshan mo sel bar byed |
srid mtshor gti mug rab rib sel bar byed || [8]
ji ltar daṅ pa'i rgyal pos chu bo 'byed |
srid pa za shes Kā hna pa yis smra || [10]

indratāla iti rāgaḥ Kṛṣṇacaryā-pādānām—
yadā candra uditāḥ bhavati ||
tadā cittarājāḥ nirmalāḥ bhavati || [2]
mohamalanāṁ chinnaṁ gurūpadeśena |
āyatanendriyāṇi gaganam prāptāni || [4]
khasama-vijam yat khasamaṁ yāti |
ātmanāḥ vṛkṣāt bhuvanatrayaṁ chāyāṁ vistaroti || [6]
yathā sūryaḥ uditvā rātriṁ apasārayati |
bhava-samudrasya mohatimiram prakṛṣṭam dūrīkaroti || [8]
yathā hamsarājāḥ jalam grhṇāti |
bhavaṁ khādaya iti Kāhnunā kathyate || [10]

The original of this Caryā is missing as there is lacuna in the manuscript. The name of the *rāga* is given as dba' bo'i ta la—which seems to be a mistake for dbaṅ bo'i ta la = *indratāla*. The name of this *rāga* is not however known.

7. ṅin byed—lit. day-maker, i.e. the sun.

9. Reference is evidently made to the well-known analogy of the swan taking milk only out of milk mixed with water.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXV

[190^b1-4]

'di ni thag pa'i shabs kyi glu dbyaṅs so |
chos 'byuṅ rkaṅ rten rdo rje'i gnas kyi skad |
lan lña 'thag ciṅ 'thag pas dri med gos || [2]
bdag ni tha-gī raṅ bshin rgya rnams daṅ |
sbun dog bdag gir mtshan pa mi śes so || [4]
phyed beas khru gsum khyim 'thag sun sgron gsum |
namkha' kheṅ's gyur de ni thags 'phag go || [6]
gshom med thag bzans sgra ni bla ma'i gsum bral min |
gnas gñis beaṅ nas rgyu rnams bsgrems śiṅ brtan por
spyoṅs || [8]
nor bus son pa stoṅ ñid kyis mtshan stoṅ ñid sniṅ |
thags kyi ra rñed thag gti mug dra ba grol || [10]

etaḍ Tantripāḍasya gītaṁ—

*dharmodbhavaṁ padādhīṣṭhānaṁ vajrapadaṁ iti kathyate |
kālapañcakatantraṁ nirmalaṁ vastraṁ vayanam karoti || [2]
ahaṁ tantrī ātmanah sūtram |*

*ātmanah sūtrasya lakṣaṇaṁ na jñātaṁ || [4]
sārdhatrihastam vayanagatīḥ prasarati tridhā |
gaganam pūrṇam bhavati anena vastra-vayanena || [6]
anākataṁ vayana-śabdāṁ guruvākyena sthīrīkṛtaṁ |
sthānadvayaṁ grhītvā sūtreṇa ācchāditaṁ dṛḍhaṁ
vistrītaṁ || [8]*

*mañimūle gataṁ śūnyatattvasya lakṣaṇaṁ śūnyatattvasya
sāraṁ |*

vayana-rasaḥ prāptaḥ mohamalamuktaḥ || [10]

The original of this Caryā is also missing. Only the Sanskrit commentary of the last two verses has been preserved.

The name of the author is without doubt *Tantripāda* as—thag po'i shabs—literally means the *pāda* or the honoured teacher of weaving. The name of *Tantripāda* is found in the list of the Siddhas. In the extant portion of the commentary on lines 9-10 we also get his name—*mayā Tantripādena prāpta*.

1. rkañ rten—foot-stool, *padādhiṣṭhāna* ; rdo rje'i gnas—the place of Vajra.

2. 'thag ciñ 'thag pas—lit. to weave the threads ; gos-cloth, *vastram*.

3. tha. gī evidently stands for the name of Tantrī ; rgya rnams—the threads.

4. sbun dog—threads.

7. gshom med—not struck i.e. *anāhata* ; the commentary—*vātadvayam anāhatam*.

8. gnas gñis bcan nas—lit. after taking the two places *beṇavīti bhavābhāvagraham toḍayitvā*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXVI

[191^b3-5]

Sā-ba-ri shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs shi ba'i shabs kyi'o—

tshad mas brtags śiṅ brtags pa'i cha śas cha ।
cha śas cha śas brtags na lhag ma med ॥ [2]
de ſiḍ phyir na gzugs ni ma rñed do ।
Sā-ntis smras pa ci shig sgom par byed ॥ [4]
tshad mas brtags brtags stoṅ ba ſiḍ du sad ।
slar yaṅ blaṅs nas raṅ gi 'gog par byed ॥ [6]
rnam ba gñis 'bab lam ni ma mthoṅ ste ।
Sā-ntis smras'pa skrä rtse'i cha ni soṅ ॥ [8]
bya ba byed byuṅ dag yod ma yin ।
raṅ gis rig pas Sā-nti pa yis smras ॥ [10]

śābarī iti nāma rāgaḥ Śāntipādānām—
tulanārthaṃ parīkṣya parīkṣayā amśataḥ amśam ।
amśataḥ amśataḥ parīkṣārthaṃ śeṣam nāsti ॥ [2]
tathāpi hetau rūpaṃ na prāpyate ।
Śāntiḥ bhaṇati kiṃ bhāvyaṭe ॥ [4]
tulanayā parīkṣya parīkṣya śūnyatattvaṃ gatam ।
punar grhītvā svayaṃ...utpāṭitam ॥ [6]
viśeṣam dvayaṃ vāhana-mārgaṃ na drśyate ।
Śāntiḥ bhaṇati bālāgraṃ na praviśati ॥ [8]
kāryakāraṇa-hetuśca [atra] nāsti ।
svasaṃvedanaṃ Śāntinā kathitam ॥ [10]

The name of the *rāga* occurs in the Caryā text as *Śībarī* instead of *Śābarī*—but *Śābarī* seems to be the correct form. The name of the author *Śānti* is translated as—shi ba'i shabs—lit. *Śānti-pāda*.

1. tshad mas—measure, cf. *tulā* (< *tulana*) in the Caryā text ; brtags from brtag pa means to examine—*parīkṣā*. The Caryā text has *dhūṇi* (< *dhū-*) to shake, to throw off ; hence probably ‘to unfold, to analyse.’ The Tibetan translator has missed the other meaning, *tulā dhūṇi* also means ‘to card the cotton ;’ this meaning seems to be more natural from what follows—*ṅsure ṅsu*—into threads. The entire line thus means —“Having carded the cotton again and again into threads.” The translator however has interpreted it differently—“Examined for measuring ; after examining part by part.”

2. lhag ma med—*avaśeṣam nāsti* ; the Caryā text—*niravara sesu*—the remainder is non-existent.

3. phyin na gzugs—*hetu-rūpaṃ*, the Caryā text has *herua* (< *heruka*) but both the commentator and the Tibetan translator have understood it as *hetu* “cause ;” the commentary—*tathā cāhetukatvāt tasya cittasya hetvantaraṃ na prāpyate*.

4. ci shig sgom par byed—what to think, *kiṃ bhāvyaṭe* ; the Caryā text has *kiṇa sabhāviai* which should be corrected as *ki ṇa sa bhāviai*.

5. stoṅ pa ṅid du sod—to pass over (i.e., to go) to the essence of vacuity (*śūnyatattvaṃ gataṃ*) ; cf. the Sanskrit com.—*śūnyeti prabhāsvare cittam pravēṣitam mayā ; sune ahāriṃ* of the Caryā text therefore should be corrected as *sune ārohiṃ*—*śūnyam ārohitam*.

6. ’gog par byed—‘to take away forcibly, to pull out’—*utpāṭitam* ; the Caryā text has *catāriṃ* which is not clear.

7. rnam pa—to the utmost, *mātram*, the Caryā text has *bahala* ; ’bab lam—downward going path (?) ;—the Caryā text has *māra* < *mārga*.

9. bya ba byed—lit. *kārya-karaṇam* ; the Caryā text has *kāja na kāraṇa*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXVII

[192^b1-3]

bdod pa sbyin pa shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs du shes gsum
pa'i shabs kyi'o—

nam phyed chu skyes khaṅs rgyas sum cu gñis ।
rnal 'byor ya rnams de la yan lag chen ॥ [2]
ri bod 'dsin lam a-va-dhu-tī'r bskyod ।
rin chen chig ni lhan cig skyes pa smra ॥ [3]
ri bod 'dsin ba skyod mya ṇan 'des bar 'gro ।
pa-dma can ni pa-dmar 'bab pa'i chu ॥ [4]
khyañ par dga' ba mtshan ñid dan bral ba ।
gañ gis de śes ni saṅs rgyas so ॥ [6]
Bhu-su-kus smras bdag gis tshogs pa śes ।
lhan cig skyes dga' ba dre ba chen pos rol ॥ [8]

kāmada iti nāma rāgaḥ tri-(?)-pādānām-
ardharātrau kamalam ullasitaṁ vikaśitam । dvātrīṁśad-
yoginyah tasya (mahā-) aṅgam ॥ [2]
śāśadhara-mārga avadhūtīm cālaya ।
ratne sahaḥam kathayāmi ॥ [4]
śāśadharam cālayitvā nirvāṇam atikrāntaḥ ।
kamalinī kamalam vahati jalena ॥ [6]
viśeṣānandaṁ lakṣaṇa-virahitaṁ ।
yaḥ etad jñāti saḥ buddhaḥ ॥ [8]
Bhusuku bhaṇāti mayā milanam jñātaṁ ।
sahajānandaṁ mahāsukha-tīlayā ॥ [10]

The name of the *rāga* has been translated as—bdod pa sbyin pa—'wish-giver'—*kāmada*. The correct name is *kāmada* which is also found in the Caryā text. The author of this Caryā is Bhusukupāda whose name occurs also in the Tibetan

translation, line 7 ; the translation of the name in the first line as—gsum pa'i shabs—seems to be wrong.

1-2. There is some confusion in the translation. The Caryā text has—

adharāti bhara kamala vikasāi |
vatisa joini tasu āṅga unhasiṁ [sic ulhasiṁ] ||

This shows that—'khans' which literally means *ullasita* and 'sum cu gñis' (*vatisa* < *dvātrīṃśat*) of the first line should go with the second line.

ri bod 'dsin—literally 'he who holds the hare (*śaśaka*)' hence *śaśakadhara*, *śaśadhara*. The Caryā text has *ṣaṣahara*, evidently a scribe's error for *sasahara* which means the moon.'

bskyod—to pass on ; the Caryā text has *cālina* which should be corrected as *cālīaṁ* < *cālaya* (*tu*).

4. rin chen chig ni—'chig' which stands for 'gcig' seems to be unusual here. It may be a mistake for 'tshig' which means 'words'—*vākya*. The corresponding line in the Caryā text—*rañṇahu ṣahaje* (sic *sahaje*) *kaheḥ* is metrically defective ; some word has been dropped and it might be *vāe* (< *vākya*). The line may be thus reconstructed as *rañṇa-vāe saḥaje kaheḥ*.

'das bar—to pass away, to go beyond *atīkrānta*, *atīta* ; 'gro—to go : the Caryā text has simply *gāi* (*gata*).

6. The translation literally stands for—*padmāvatyām padmavahanasya jalam* ; the Caryā text has—*kamalini kamala bhaḥ paṇāle* of which *paṇāle* is not clear. It should be corrected as *paṇāne* for the sake of rhyme with *ṇivāne*. It may be derived from *prīṇana*, affection, love ; cf. the Commentary—*kāyavajram prīṇayitvā mahāsukhacakroddheśam vahati*.

7. khyañ par dga ba—khyañ par means special, distinctive—*viśeṣa*, hence *viśeṣānanda*. The Caryā text has *viramānanda* which is one of the four kinds of bliss experienced in mystic practice. The Tibetan does not render the last word of the Caryā text—*sudha* < *suddha*.

8. *Budha* of the Caryā text may be derived from Buddha as has been done in the Tib. translation ; it may also mean 'wise.'

9. *tshogs pa*—to assemble together,—hence assembly. The Caryā text has *melē* < *mela*(ka) ; cf. the Commentary—*prajñopāyamelaka*.

10. *rol*—play, *līlā* ; *lolē* in the Caryā text should be corrected as *līlē* < *līlayā*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXVIII

[193^{b7}]

Ba-ra-ṭi shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Sa-ra-ha'i shabs kyi'o—

mtho shiñ mtho ma'i ri bo der,

sa-bari yi bu mo 'dug ।

rma bya'i mdoṅs ni lus la gyon,

mchu'i phreñ ba mgul du ... ॥ [2]

smyon ba sa-bari ni 'khrul,

gū-li ma byed sa-bari ।

khyod kyi rañ gi khyim mi mo,

miñ ni lhan skyes mdses ldan ma ॥ [4]

sna tshogs śiñ mchog rtsi mo ni,

namkha'i mthil du yal ga rig ।

gcig duñ sa-ba-ri ñid 'gro,

rna rkyan 'khor lo rdo rje 'dsin ॥ [6]

kham s gsum po yi khri ñid bśams,

bde ba chen po'i ñal sañ byas ।

sa-ba-ri sbrul bdag miñ ma,

gzugs 'choñ dga' bas nam laṅs gyur ॥ [8]

sems ni so rtsi bde ba che,

ka-phu-ra za ba stoñ pa yi ।

bdag med ma yi mgul nas 'khyud,

bde chen mtshan mo nam laṅs gyur ॥ [10]

bla ma'i gsuñ gi gshu dañ ni,
 rañ gi yid kyi mda'i yis phug |
mda' gcig ñid ni ña śnags byas nas,
 mehog gi myañ na 'das pa phug || [12]
sbyon dañ śa-ba-ri ba ni,
 cher khros ri bo mehog rtsi yi |
mtshams su shugs mas śa-ba-ri,
 bdag gis ji ltar 'phyoñ bar byed ||

Barāṭi iti nāma rāgaḥ Sarahapādānām—

uccaḥ kṣetraḥ uccaḥ parvataḥ tasmin vasati śavara-bālikā |
mayūra-puccha-parihitā aṅge guñjā-mālā(?) grivāyām || [2]
unmatto śabaraḥ mattaḥ gū-li mā kuru śabarī |
tava ātmanaḥ grhiṇī [tasyāḥ] nāma sahajasundarī || [4]
nūnā-taruvara-mauliṣu śākhāḥ gaganatalaṁ gatāḥ |
ekā śabarī atraiva carati karṇa-kundala-vajra-dhārī || [6]
tri-dhātūnām khaṭvam atraiva sthāpitaṁ mahāsukha-śayyā
viśṛtā |
śabaro bhujāṅgaḥ nairātmā dārikām grhītvā premṇā rātrim
vāhayati || [8]
cittaḥ tāmbūlaṁ mahāsukhena kaphuraṁ khādati |
śūnya-nairātmāyāḥ kaṭhaṁ grhītvā mahāsukhena rātrim
nayati || [10]
guru-vākya-puccha(?)sya dhanuḥ ātma-cittasya bāṇaḥ |
ekameva śarasandhānaṁ kṛtvā parama-nirvāṇaṁ bhindhi || [12]
unmatta-śabaraḥ guru-roṣeṇa girivara-śikhara-sandhim |
pravīṣati śabara mayā kathaṁ bhrāmyate || [14]

The name of the *rāga* appears in the original as *balāddi*; this is surely a mistake for *barāḍi* which has been transcribed in Tibetan as *barāṭi*. It is apparently through a mistake that the name of the author is here given as *Saraha*. In the body of the text the name of Śabara appears prominently and in the commentary (Tib. translation) it occurs as *sabarīpāda*—grub pa'i slob dpon sa-ba-rī-pa'i shabs kyi'o—*siddhacārya-sabarapādānām*. In the original the name consistently occurs as *śabarapāda*.

1. mtho=mthon pa, high; shiñ=lit. place, *kṣetra*; but mthon shiñ mtho—probably renders simply the idea of *ūcā ūcā* of the Caryā text.

2. There is a slight difference in the translation. The Caryā text has *morāṅgi piccha parahiṇa sabarī* ...; mchu'i phren is the translation of *guñjarī māli* of the original but 'mchu' literally means *oṣṭha*, *tuṇḍa*.

3. gū-li ma byed—gū-li is transcribed from original *gūli* of which the meaning is not clear to me. The Caryā text has *ma kara gulī guhāḍā tohauri*—of which *guhāḍā* is not translated in Tibetan; *guhāḍā* seems to be the same word as *gohārī*, *goāra* meaning 'petition' hence 'beseeching' (cf. S. K. Chatterji—*Origin and Development*, etc., p. 441).

5. rtsi mo—means the top, Skt. *mauli*; but this is a wrong translation. The Caryā text has *maulila-re* (= *maulila re*) where the word is used as a verb meaning "blossoming;" *maulila* < *mukulita*, *yal ga rig* = *śākhā*; the Caryā uses a Bengali word—*ḍālī* < *ḍāla*.

6. ñid 'gro—*atraiva carati*; the Caryā text has *e vaṇa hindai*—"goes about in this forest" (*hindai* < *hindati*—to go about).

11. bla m'ai gsuñ gi gshu—lit. *guru-vākyapucchasya dhanuḥ*—"the bow made of feathers which are the words of the preceptor;" the Caryā text is slightly different—*guruvāk puñchaā bindha....*

12. 'phyoñ bar—means "to protect;" it seems to be a mistake for 'phyos bar—"to roam" because the Caryā text has *loḍiva* (from *naḍ*—to move) which has the sense of *bhrāmyate*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXIX

[194^b6-195^a2]

Pa-ṭa-ha-ma-ñja-ri shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Lū-yi shabs
kyi'o—

dños po ma yin dños po med pa 'aṅ ma yin pa'i |
'di 'dra'i saṅs rgyas gaṅ gas yid ni ches par byed || [2]
Lū-yis smras pa rmoṅs pa ya mtshan mtshon du med |
kham gsun ſiḍ du rol ba dbyibs daṅ spyod lam med || [4]
gaṅ gi kha dog mtshan ma gzugs ni mi ſes so |
de ni ji ltar luṅ daṅ rig byed dag las bśad || [6]
gaṅ gi ji ltar smra ba bdag gis dri bar bya |
chu yi zla ba ji bshin bden daṅ brdsun pa 'aṅ min || [8]
Lū yis smras pa bdag gi bsgom pa ji lta bu |
gaṅ shig blaṅs 'dug de ni bdag gis ma mthoṅ ño || [10]

Paṭahamañjari iti nāma rāgaḥ Lūyipādānām—

*bhāvaḥ na bhavati abhāvaḥ api na bhavati |
īdrśa-sambodhena kaḥ pratītiṃ karoti || [2]
Lūyikḥ bhaṇati re mūrkhā vijñānaṃ lakṣṇaṇahīnaṃ |
tri-dhātusu tadeva vilasati ākāraṃ na prāpyate || [4]
yasya varṇa-cihnau rūpaṃ ca na jānāmi |
tat katham śāstra-vedeṣu vyākhyāyate || [6]
kasya katham kathyate mayā pṛcchā kartavyā |
udaka-candraḥ yathā satyaḥ mithyā ca na bhavati || [8]
Lūyi-pādena bhāṇyate mayā bhāvyaṃ katham |
yat grhītvā tiṣṭhāmi tasyoddeśaṃ mayā na drśyate [10]*

2. yid ni ches par byed—when 'ches pa' follows yid "mind" it means—"to believe"—hence *pratīti-karoti*; in the Caryā text *patiāi* < *pratyāpayati*; saṅs rgyas—lit. Buddha, but the Caryā text has *sambohē* < *sambodhena*.

3. ya mtshan—lit. *kautūhala*—amazement, miracle ; the Caryā text has *viṇāṇā* < *viññāna* which is also used in Bengali in the sense of miracle ; mtshon du med = *lakṣaṇa-hīna*, devoid of any sign; the Caryā text has *dulakkha* < *durlakṣaṇa*.

4. dbyibs—lit. *ākāraṃ*, shape, figure; spyod pas med—*na prāpyate*, do not attain. The whole expression therefore means literally—its shape cannot be seized, *i.e.*, it cannot be attained in a concrete form. The Caryā text has—*uha lāge nā* (*uha* < *ūha*—mark) which means the same thing.

5. kha dog mtshan ma—lit. *varṇa* and *lakṣaṇa*; the Caryā text has *bāna-cihna*.

6. luṅ daṅ rig byed—lit. *śāstra* and *veda* ; the Caryā text has—*āgama-veda*.

7. gaṅ gi ji ltar smra—lit. to whom how to speak—*kasya katham kathyatē*. The Caryā text has *kāhere kiṣabhāṇi* which should therefore be corrected as *kāhere kiṣa bhāṇi* ; dri bar bya—lit. *praśnaṃ kariṣyāmi* ; the Caryā text has—*dibi pirichā* (= *prēcchā dātavyā*).

9-10. The Caryā text gives this line as—*Lui bhaṇaṇṇi bhaṇṇa kṛṣ* which is corrupt and metrically defective. It should be corrected as—*Lui bhaṇaṇṇi māṇṇi bhāvaṇṇi kṛṣa*. The 10th line—*jālaṇṇi acchamatā hera uha ṇa disa* should be corrected with the help of Tibetan as—*jā laṇṇi acchama tāhera uha ṇa disa*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXX

[195^b4-6]

Mal. la. re shes bya b'i glu dbyaṅs Bhu-su-ku'i shabs
kyi'o—

sniñ rje'i sprin ni rgyun mi 'chad par 'pho |
dños po dños med rtog ciñ rtog ciñ sel || [2]
ya mtshan che ba namkha'i mthil du śar |
lhan skyes rañ bshin ltos śig Bhu. su. ku || [4]
gañ gi yid la mig 'phrul chad gyur pa |
rañ gi yid la dga' bstar bar byed || [6]
yul ni rnam dag bdag gi dga' ba rtogs |
namkha'i mthil du ji ltar zla ba śar || [8]
der ni khams gsum po ni rnam par brgyuñ |
gañ śar Bhu. su. ku yi mun ya sel || [10]

Mallare iti nāma rāgaḥ Bhusukupādānām—

karuṇāmeghaṁ nirantaram chitvā durīkṛtya |
bhāvābhāva-dvayaṁ dalitvā || [2]
mahadbhūtaḥ gaganatale uditah |
sahaja-svarūpaṁ paśya re Bhusuku || [4]
yat śṛṇvan indrajālaṁ truṭyati |
nijamanasi ullāsaṁ dadāti || [6]
viśayavatsuddhena mayā ānandaṁ jñātam |
gaganatale yathā candraḥ uditah || [8]
asmin triloke (etat) viśiṣṭa-sārah |
yad udeti Bhusuku tad andhakāraṁ apanayati || [10]

The name of the *rāga* is imperfectly transcribed in Tibetan as Mallare; the Caryā text gives the correct form as Mallārī.

1. sprin—cloud, *megha*; rgyun—always, continuously, *nirantara*; mi 'chad par—not separating, not cutting into

pieces ; 'pho—move about ; *sañcarati* ; mi 'chad par 'pho—has probably been used to render the complete idea conveyed by *phariā* (*sic. phuriā*) of the Caryā text ; *phuriā* is explained in the Sanskrit commentary as *prasphuritam* ; it has the sense of shining in its fulness.

2. rtog ciñ—has been used to render *dvandala* (< *dvandva*) "doubts" of the Caryā text ; rtog pa—means 'deliberation', *tarka*.

5. 'phrul—means 'black art and magic' ; the Caryā text has *indiāla* ; though *indiāla* has been interpreted as *indriyasamūham* in the commentary it should be explained as *indrajāla* "magic" in the light of the Tibetan translation ; *indrajāla* is also an illusion of the senses and hence it can fit in with the meaning of the line.

8. namkha'i mthil—lit. *gaganatale* ; the Caryā text has *ujoli* (<Skt. *udyotitam* according to the Comm.).

9. brgyuñs pa—means "the marrow in the backbone" and hence 'essence' ; rnam par brgyuñ—may therefore mean *viśiṣṭa-sāra* ; the Caryā text has *viṣārā* which may be corrected as *visārā*.

10. sel—means 'to remove,'—Skt. *apanayana* ; it occurs also in line 2 as the translation of *daliā* ; the Caryā text has *hebbhañ* which is doubtless corrupt ; it should be corrected as *phedai* (*cf. Comm. sphetayati*) which means 'to tear asunder' and hence "to remove."

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXXI

[196^b1-4]

Pa-ṭa-ha-ma-ñja-ri shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs 'phags pa
lha'i shabs kyi'o—

gaṅ la yid dan dbaṅ po chuṅ rnam shugs gyur na |
bdag gis mi śes gaṅ du soṅ dan gaṅ du sleb || [2]
ya mtshan sñiṅ rje ḍa-ma-ru ñiṅ sgrogs bar byed |
'phags pa lha ni dmigs pa med pa rnam par mdsos || [4]
zla ba zla ba'i 'od zer ji bshin yoṅs su śes |
sems kyi rnam 'gyur de la 'phaṅs nas yoṅs su shugs [6]
spaṅs grub srid pa'i skyag gro 'jig rten spyod pa rnam |
lta shiṅ lta bas stoṅ pa ñid la rnam par dpyad || [8]
'phags pa lhan kun la rnam par dpyod par byed |
'jigs pa dan ni skyag gro riṅ du zad par byas || [10]

Paṭahamañjari iti nāma rāgaḥ Āryadevapādānām—

yasmin mano indriya-pavanāś ca naṣṭāḥ |
na jñāmi ātmā kutra gatvā praviṣṭāḥ || [2]
adbhuta-karuṇā-ḍamaruḥ eva vādyate ||
Āryadevaḥ nirāmbena virājate || [4]
candraḥ candrāmśuḥ yathā pratibhāsate |
citta-vikaraṇe tasmin ṭalitvā praviṣṭi || [6]
parityajya siddhiṁ bhavaghrṇām lokācārān |
paśyan paśyan śūnyatattva-vicāraṁ || [8]
Āryadevena sakalam vicāritaṁ |
bhayaṁ ghrṇā ca dūre nivāritaṁ || [10]

1. chuṅ—lit. 'water'; but the Caryā text has *pabana*; chuṅ, therefore, may be a mistake for 'rluṅ'.

3. ya mtshan—strange, wonderful; the Caryā text has *akāṭa* (mod. Beng. *ākāṭ*) which also means the same thing.

4. dmigs pa med pa—lit. without imagining, without thinking, *nirālamba*; the Caryā text has *nirāsa* which is explained in the commentary as *nirālabhena*.

6. rnam 'gyur—may mean *vivartana*; the Caryā text has *vikarāṇa*; 'phañs nas—'by shaking' the Caryā text has *ṭali* (< *ṭalitvā*) which has the same meaning.

7. skyag gro—that which causes nausea; that which is repulsive to taste; the Caryā text has *ghīṇa* (< *ghṛṇā*).

8. rnam par dpyad—to investigate well, Skt. *vicāra*; the Caryā text has *viāra* (< *vicāra*).

9. rnam par dpyod par byed—*vicāritam*; *vihariu* of the Caryā text, therefore, is to be corrected as *vicāriu*.

10. riñ du—'length of time or space,' hence, to a distance; the Caryā text has *dura* which should be corrected as *dure*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXXII

[197^b5-7]

De-sa-kha shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Sa-ra-ha'i shabs
kyi'o—

nā-da thig le űi zla'i dkyil 'khor med ।
sems kyi rgyal po űo bo űid kyis grol ॥ [2]
draṅ po'i lam spaṅs gshan ri ma len cig ।
byaṅ chub űe bar riṅ du ma 'gror ॥ [4]
lag gdub űa blta la me loṅ ma len cig ।
bdag gis bdag űid űes par ses par so ॥ [6]
pha rol tshu rol 'gro bde yis so ।
sdug pa'i skye bo daṅ 'grog 'chi bar 'gyur ॥ [8]
gaṅ gi gyas gyon dag ni doṅ daṅ ma yaṅ ।
Sa. ra. has. smras draṅ űo'i lam... ॥ [10]

Deśākha iti nāma rāgaḥ Sarahapādānām—

nāḍabindū raviśasimaṇḍalau ca na ।
cittarājāḥ svabhāvataḥ muktaḥ ॥ [2]
rjuvartma parityajya aparaṁ mā grhāṇa ।
bodhiḥ nikāṭaḥ dūraṁ mā gaccha- ॥ [4]
hasta(sthitaṁ) kaṅkaṇaṁ draṣṭuṁ darpaṇaṁ na grhāṇa ।
ātmanā ātmatattvaṁ niścayaṁ jānāti ॥ [6]
pāram aparapāraṁ ca yāti ānandena ।
durjanasaṅgena mṛtyuṁ prāpnoti ॥ [8]
vāme dakṣiṇe ca ye garttāḥ agarttāḥ ।
Saraḥaḥ bhaṇati rjuvartma prāptaṁ... ॥ [10]

3. draṅ po'i lam—lit. the straight path, *rjupaṭha*, *rju-vartma*.
The Caryā text has *uju re uju* (= *rju re rju*) ; gshan—lit. other,
aparaṁ, hence 'other than what is straight (*rju*)'; the Caryā
text—*vāṅka*. crooked.

4. ñe bar—near ; the Caryā text has *niahi* which should be corrected as *niadī* (<*nikata*). Riñ du ma 'gror—the Tib. text has 'ña du' which I have corrected as 'riñ du'; riñ du—means 'at a distance'; the Caryā text has *lankā* which stands for a distant place. The meaning of the line is—the Bodhi is at hand, don't go to a distant place (for that).

5. ma len—don't take ; the Caryā text has *mā loü*, which should be corrected as *mā leü*.

7. 'gro bde yis so—goes happily ; the Caryā text has *gajü*, which should be corrected as *majü* (Skt. comm.—*majjanti*) which has the meaning of "going deeper without any consideration."

8. 'chi bar 'gyur—the xylograph at my disposal is not very clear here ; my reading however seems to be almost certain ; the expression means—'death happens'—*mṛtyuṁ prāpnoti*. The Caryā text has—*avasari jāi* which means—'goes astray,' 'goes away from the right path' ; the Sanskrit comm. has *saṁsāra-samudre majjanti*.

9. doñ dañ ma yañ—means "a hole and its opposite"—*gartta-agartta* ; the Caryā text has *khāla vikhalā*—'ditches and pits.'

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXXIII

[198*2-4]

Pa-ṭa-ha-ma-ñja-ri shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Tenṭaṇa pa'i
shabs kyi'o—

gron khyer dbus na bdag gi khyim ste khyim tshes med ।
phru bal ni zan med rtag tu 'drim par byed ॥ [2]
sbal pa yis ni spral ñid 'der pa ñid du byed ।
'om bshos pas nu ma la ni shugs bar 'gyur ॥ [4]
glaṅ ni skyes gyuṅ pa ni mo gśam la ।
khri ni 'jo bar byed de thun mtshams gsum ॥ [6]
gaṅ de bla ldan de ni blo med pa ।
gaṅ de chom bde ni mkhaṅ sruṅs so ॥ [8]
rtag tu lca sbyaṅ saṅ ga mñam du 'dsiṅ ।
Te-ṭṭe-na shabs glu ni sus kyaṅ go būud ॥

Paṭahamañjari iti nāma rāgaḥ Tenṭaṇa-pādānām—
nagaramadhye mama grhaṁ prativeśi nāsti ।
mṛtbhāṇḍe odanam nāsti nityam āveśanam ॥ [2]
bhekena sarpaṁ eva tāḍitam ।
dugdha-dugdhaṁ kiṁ [go]-stanam pravṛṣati ॥ [4]
vṛṣaḥ prasūyate goḥ bandhyā bhūtā ।
khatṭe(?) dohanam kriyate trisandhyāyām ॥ [6]
yaḥ prājñāḥ sa eva prajñāhīnaḥ ।
yaḥ cauraḥ sa eva koṭṭarakṣakaḥ ॥ [8]
nityam śṛgālaḥ śimha-samam yuddham karoti ।
Tenṭaṇapādasya gītaṁ ko'pi buddhyate ॥ [10]

The name of the author in the Caryā text appears as *Dheṇḍhana*,
It is imperfectly transcribed in Tibetan.

1. Gron khyer—means *nagara*, 'city'; the Caryā text
has *tāla* which means an "elevated place." Khyim tshes=

khyim mtshes, which means "neighbour"; the Caryā text has *paḍaveṣī* which should be corrected as *paḍiveṣī* (*prativeṣī*).

2. phru bal—"phru ba" means earthen pot; the Caryā text has *hāṇḍī-mṛtbhāṇḍa*; 'drim pa—is said to be a wrong form of 'brim pa' in the Dictionary of S. C. Das; 'brim pa—means "to distribute." The Caryā text has *āveṣī* (*āveṣika*) which means 'a guest.' The Tibetan translator had probably before him *pariveṣī* (< *pariveśa*) which means "to distribute, to serve."

3. The Caryā text has—*veṅga saṃsāra baḍḍhila jāa* "it is the family of a frog which goes on increasing." But the Tibetan translator had certainly an altogether different reading before him—probably *veṅga sa sāpa baḍḍhila jāa*; the Tibetan translation means—"even the serpent is being chased by the frog." The Sanskrit commentary indirectly preserves this sense—*vyāṅgena prabhāsvareṇa vijñānaparaścoditah*.

6. Khri—means *khaṭṭa*; the Caryā text has *piṭā* (the comm. *pīṭhakam*)—"a pale."

8. mkhar sruṃs—lit. means *kotṭapāla*, the guard of the fortress; the Caryā text has simply *sādhī* meaning one who is honest.

9. The Caryā text has *ṣiālā ṣihe ṣama jujhaa* which is simply a copyist's mistake for *siālā sihe sama jujhaa*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXXIV

[199°3-6]

Ba-ra-di shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Dā-ri-ka pa'i shabs
kyi'o—

stoṅ pas ni sñiṅ rje dag ।
dbye ba med pas lus nag yid ।
rnam par rol ba Dā. ri. ka
pha ral mchog gi 'gram du soṅ ॥ [2]
mtshan ñid med pa ni mtshan ñid sems ।
bde ba chen pos rnam par rol ।
Dā. ri. ka pa namkha'i la ॥
pha rol mchog gi 'gram du soṅ । [4]
khyod kyis sṅags gaṅ khyod rgyud dan ।
khyod kyi bsam gtan ci shig bśad ।
raṅ gnas bde ba chen por lim ॥
mtshon dka' don dam myaṅ na raṅs । [6]
bde sdug cig tu byas naṅ ni ।
mig 'phrul dra ba za bar byed ।
raṅ gshan gshan ñid Dā. ri. ka
ma lus bla na med par śes ॥ [8]
rgyal po rgyal po ñid kyi rgyal ।
gshan yaṅ rgyal po rmoṅs pas 'chiṅ ।
Lū. yi pa shabs drin gyis ni ।
Dā. ri. ka pas sa bcu [gñis] thob ॥ [10]

*Baraḍi iti nāma rāgaḥ Dārikapādānām—
śūnyakarūṇe abhirṇe kāyavākacittāni ।
vilasati Dārikah paramapārasya kūle ॥ [2]
alakṣaṇa-lakṣaṇaṁ cittāṁ mahāsukhena vilasati ।
Dārikah gagane paramapārasya kūle ॥ [4]*

tava mantreṇa kiṃ tava tantreṇa kiṃ
 tava dhyānavyākhyānena kiṃ ।
 ātmapraṭiṣṭhā-mahāsukha [līlayā]
 durlakṣaṇaṃ parama-nirvāṇaṃ ॥[6]
 sukha-duḥkhaṇ ekikṛtvā indrajālaṃ bhakṣati ।
 svaparāparaṃ Dārikaḥ sakalaṃ anuttaraṃ jñāti ॥[8]
 rājā rājā bho ! rājā aparāḥ rājā moha-baddhaḥ ।
 Lūyipādapadmena Dārikena [dvā]daśa-bhuvanāni
 labdhāni ॥ [10]

1. dbye ba med pas—‘not making distinction’; the Caryā text has *abhina vārē* which may be corrected as *abhinācārē* (<*abhinnācāreṇa*).

2. pha rol mchog gi ’gram du—lit. *pāra-parama-aule*; the Caryā text has simply *pārimakulē*.

3. mtshan ñid med pa ni mtshan ñid sems—lit. *alakṣaṇa-lakṣaṇa-citta*; the Caryā text has *alakṣalakkhacittā* which ought to be corrected as *alakṣa-lakkhaṇa-cie*.

6. raṇ gnaṣ bde ba chen por—lit. *ātmapraṭiṣṭhāna-mahāsukha ātmasthānamahāsukha*; the Caryā text has *apaṭṭhāna-mahāsuha* (<*apraṭiṣṭhāna-mahāsukha*); the translator seems to have read the text as—*appa-ṭhāna-mahāsūha*.

7. mig ’phrul dra ba—*indrajāla*; the Caryā text has *indījānī*.

8. ma lus bla na med par śes—lit. *sakalaṃ anuttaraṃ jñāti*; the Caryā text has—*saalānuttara-māṇī* which should be corrected as *’jānī*.

9. bloṃs pas ’chin—seems to be a misprint for “’rmoṃs pas ’chiñ” meaning *mohabaddha*; the Caryā text has *moherā bādhā* (Comm. *mohena baddhā*) which ought to be corrected as *mohē re bādhā*.

10. sa bcu thob—lit. “ten worlds have been attained.” The Tibetan text has probably dropped “gñis” after “sa bcu”; when ‘gñis’ is supplied we would have—“twelve worlds have been attained”—*dvādaśabhuaṇē laḍhā*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXXV

[200^a4-6]

Mal. la. ri shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Bha-de'i shabs kyi'o—
de tsam dus su 'dug kyaṅ bdag ni śin tu rmoṅs ।
de ni bla ma'i dam pa'i gsuṅs las bdag gis rtogs ॥ [2]
de ni bdag gi sems kyi rgyal po shi bar gyur ।
namkha' rgya mtshor rab tu bskyod pas sleb par gyur ॥ [4]
bdag gis bltas pa phyogs bu thams cad stoṅ pa ṅid ।
sams daṅ rnam par bral bas sdig daṅ ba seṅ rnam med ॥ [6]
bā-ju-la yis bdag la mtshan ma smras nas byin ।
namkha'i rgya mtshor bdag ni sems ni stor bar gyur ॥ [8]
Bhā-des smras pa cha śas med pa rab tu loṅ ।
bdag gi sems kyi rgyal po ṅid stor bar gyur ॥ [10]

Mallari iti nāma rāgaḥ Bhadepādānām—

*etāvat kālāṁ sthitāḥ ahaṁ sumohe ।
idānīṁ sadgurubodhena mayā jñātam ॥ [2]
idānīṁ mama cittarājaḥ śāntaḥ [sañjātaḥ] ।
gaganasamudre talitvā praviṣṭaḥ ॥ [4]
mayā dr̥ṣṭam daśadikṣu sarvaṁ śūnyam ।
cittaviyogena na pāpaṁ na puṇyam ॥ [6]
Bājulena mayi lakṣaṇam bhaṇitam ।
gagana-samudraṁ mayā citte bhakṣitam ॥ [8]
Bhāde [pādena] bhanyate abhāgaṁ gṛhītam ।
mayā cittarājaṁ bhakṣitam ॥ [10]*

1. śin tu rmoṅs—"śin tu" means 'great, much,' *ati, su*, etc.; the translator probably read the original word as *su-moha* but the Caryā text has *svamoha* which seems to be the correct form.

3. shi bar gyur—lit. *sāntaḥ bhūtaḥ* ; the Caryā text has *makūṇaṭhā* which may be corrected as *mokū ṇaṭhā* (cf. Comm. *mama vinaṣṭa-*) ; the Tibetan translation is therefore not literal.

4. mkha' rgya mtshor—lit. *gagana-samudra-* ; the Caryā text has *gaṇa samude* to be corrected as *gaganasamude*.

6. seṅ—lit. white, clean, *avadāta*, hence *punya-* ;

7. bdag la mtshan ma smras nas byin—lit. *mayi lakṣaṇam bhaṇitam* ; the Caryā text has *mohakakhu bhaṇiā* which should therefore be corrected as *moha lakku*.

9. cha śas med pa—lit. “without pasts,” *abhāga*. Cf. the Sanskrit Comm. *anutpādabhāga-*; *laṅ* of the Caryā text should be corrected as *laṅ* for the sake of rhyme as well as sense.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXXVI

[200^b7-201^a2]

ston pa'i phyi ma ni yon por de ŋid ŋes pa can ।
gti mug mdsod ni blaŋs nas thams cad bskyod par gyur ॥ [2]
gñid yur sems med rañ dañ । gshan dag rnam par bral ।
lhan cig skyes pa'i gñid du Kā-hna-pa ni soñ ॥ [4]
sems med tshor ba med par śin tu gñid du soñ ।
thams cad grol bar byas nas bde bar gñid du soñ ॥ [6]
bdag gi rmi lam na ni khams gsum ston par mthoñ ।
'dres par byas nas 'gro dañ 'oñ ba bral bar gyur ॥ [8]
Dsā-la-nda-ra'i shabs las mñon sum ŋid du byas ।
bdag gis rtsar yañ pañ-ḍi-ta yis lta mi byed ॥ [10]

*sūnya-śākhayā tathatām prahr̥tya ।
mohabhāṇḍāraṁ sakalaṁ grh̥tvā apasāritaṁ ॥ [2]
svapiti na cintayati sva-parayoḥ vibhāgaṁ ।
sahaja-nidrayā Kāhnaḥ [abhibhūtaḥ] ॥ [4]
cetanāṁ nāsti vedanāṁ nāsti atyantāṁ nidrābhibhūtaḥ ।
sakalaṁ muktīkṛtya sukhaṁ svapiti ॥ [6]
mayā svapnadarśane tribhuvanaṁ sūnyaṁ dṛṣṭam ।
miśrīkṛtya avanāgamaṇaṁ [tad]-virahitaḥ [jātaḥ] ॥ [8]
Dsālandhara-pādaṁ sākṣiṇaṁ kariṣyāmi ।
mama samāpe paṇḍitaṁ na paśyāmi ॥ [10]*

The names of the *rāga* and the author do not occur at the beginning of the translation. The name of the *rāga* is given in the original Caryā as *Paṭamañjarī*. There is no doubt that the author is *Kṛṣṇācārya*—*Kāhnupāda*; Cf. line 4; the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit commentary to the Caryā also supports it: lhan cig skyes pa'i dga' bas brjid pa'i phyir । nag po glu dbyaṅs

shabs kyis don de ñid gsuñs so—*Sahajānandasundaro hi kṛṣṇācāryastamevārtham pratipādayati.*

1. phyi ma ni yon por—the translation is not clear; ‘phyi ma’ means ‘later, posterior,’ etc. “yon po” means “crooked, not straight” ; the Caryā text has *bāha > bāhū* ?

2. blañs nas—lit. *grhītvā* ; the Caryā text has *lui* which should be corrected as *lañ*.

5. śin tu—much, *atyantam* ; the Caryā text has *bhara*.

6. grol bral byas—lit. *muktīkṛtya*, the Caryā text has *suphala kari* which the Comm. explains as *pariśodhya*.

8. 'dres par byas nas—“mixing up,” *miśrīkṛtya* ; the Caryā text has *ghoria* which is to be corrected as *gholia*.

bral bar gyur—‘is separated from’—*viḥina* ; the Caryā text has *viḥala* which therefore may be corrected as *viḥuṇa*.

10. rtsar yañ—near, close to ; the Caryā text has *pākhi* (<*pakṣa*) which is explained in the Comm. as *sannidhānam*.

lta mi byed—“do not see,” *na paśyāmi* ; the Caryā text has *na rāhaa* which may be corrected as *na cāhaa*.

paṇḍiā cāde of the text is evidently a copyist’s error for *paṇḍiācāṣ* (= *paṇḍitācāryeṇa*) which also suits the rhyme.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXXVII

[201^b4-6]

dga' ba ster ba shes bya'i glu dbyaṅs Tā-ḍa-ka'i shabs
kyi'o—

raṅ ṅid med pas bdag gi the tshom gaṅ ।
'das daṅ doṅ rtse'i 'dod pa bral bar 'gyur ॥ [2]
ṅams myoṅ lhan skyes ma 'khrul rnal 'byor kye ।
mtha' bshi daṅ bral ji bshin de bshin yin ॥ [4]
ji ltar 'dod pa de ltar yod par gyis ।
lhan skyes lam ni nal 'byor 'khrul ma byed ॥ [6]
snoṅ spyāṅ sgrol ba po ni ṅid kyis śes ।
ṅag gi lam las 'das pa ji ltar bśad ॥ [8]
Tā-ḍa-ka yis 'di smra'i go skabs med ।
gaṅ śes de yi mgul du shags pas bcis ॥ [10]

Kāmada iti nāma rāgaḥ Tāḍakapādānām—

ātmā nāsti ātmanaḥ śaṅkā kutra ।
sā [mahā] mudrā-ākāṅkṣā bhagnā jātā ॥ [2]
bhoh yogin anubhava-sahajaṁ na vismara ।
catuspārśve muktāḥ yathā tathā bhava ॥ [4]
yathā icchā tathā vidyatām ।
sahaja-pathe yogin bhrāntiṁ mā kuru ॥ [6]
bāṇḍakoraṇḍau(?) santaraṇena jñātam ।
vākpathātitaṁ katham vyākhyāyate ॥ [8]
Tāḍakena etat bhanyate avakāśo nāsti ।
yah jñānāti tasya gale pāśaḥ baddhaḥ ॥ [10]

The name of the *rāga* is translated as “dga' ba ster ba,”
kāmada ; the Caryā text always gives the form *kāmada*, which is
also the modern form.

2. *doñ rtse'i 'dod pa*—"doñ rtse'" means 'a piece of money' hence *mudrā* ; the Caryā text has *mahāmudrā* ; 'dod pa—"desire' *ākāṅkṣā* ; the Caryā text has *kañthā* which is to be corrected as *kaṅkhā*.

4. *mtha' bshi*—"on four sides," *catuṣpārśva* ; the Caryā text has *caūkoṭṭi*, which the Comm. wrongly explains as *catuṣkoṭi* ; *caūkoṭṭi* may be taken to mean "on four sides."

5. *ji ltar 'dod pa*—"as you like," *yathā iccha* ; the Caryā text has *jaṣsane achilesi* which should be corrected as *jaṣsane icchilesi*.

6. *lhan cig skyes lam na*—lit. "on the path of Sahaja," *sahaja-pathe* ; the Caryā text has *sahaja pithaka* which should be corrected as *sahaja-pathake*.

khṛul ma byed—"don't commit error" = '*bhrāntim mā kuru* ; the Caryā text has *bhānti māho bāsa* which should be corrected as *bhānti nāhi bāsa*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXXVIII

[202^b5-203^a1]

Bhe. ra. bi shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Sa. ra. ha'i shabs kyi'o-
lus ni gru yi dum bu yid ni skye ba ste |
bla ma dam pa'i gsuṅ gi skye ba 'dsin pa'o || [2]
sems űid brtan pa űid du bzuṅ gis gru űa rnams |
thabs gshan gyis ni pha rol 'gro ba med || [4]
gru.ni 'bab pa gru śiṅ műan pa'i yon tan yin |
'tshogs shiṅ 'tshogs pas lhan cig skyes pas gshan du šes || [6]
lam ni 'gog pa'i 'jigs pa rnam par 'oṅ par gyur |
srid pa'i chu rlabs thams cad rnam par 'khrugs por gyur || [8]
pha rol chu rol rgyu rgyun drag po rab tu 'bab |
Sa.ra. ha yis smras pa namkha'i tiṅ űe 'dsin || [10]

Bherabi iti rāgāḥ Sarahapādānām—

kāyaḥ naukākhaṇḍaḥ manaḥ naukādaṇḍaḥ(?) |
sadgurūvacanena naukādaṇḍam grhyatām || [2]
cittam sthīrikṛtya dhāraya naukām |
anyopāyena pārām na yāyate || [4]
nauvāhakaḥ naukām bāhayati guṇena |
militvā militvā sahajena anyam [na] jānāmi || [6]
pathi pratibandhakabhayaṁ viśiṣṭam balasampannam bhavati |
bhava-ullolena sarvaṁ vikampitam || [8]
kūle kūle kharasrotasi uttamarūpeṇa vāhaya |
Sarahena bhaṇitam gaganasamādhīḥ [prāptaḥ] || [10]

The name of the *rāga* is imperfectly transcribed as *Bherabi*; the text gives it as *Bhairavi*.

1. gru yi dum bu—lit. *naukā-khaṇḍa*; the Caryā text has *nāvaḍi khāṇṭi* which is to be corrected as *nāvaḍi khaṇḍi*. In

both the lines we have 'skye ba' which is used as the translation *keṣṭuāla* in l. 1 and *patavāla* in l. 2; both the words probably mean 'oars'—*naukādaṇḍam*.

3. bzun—"lay hold of," *dhāraya*; the Caryā text has *dhahure* which should be corrected as *dharahu re*; *gru ṇa rnam*s—probably mean the 'sailors,' *nāvika*, *nāvi*; the Caryā text has *n'hi* which ought to be corrected as *nāṣi* (<*nāvi*).

5. 'bab pa—lit. *bāhayati*, but the Caryā text has *tāgua* which is corrected as *tāṇaṣi* means the same thing; Cf. the Comm. *ākaraṣayati*.

6. 'tshogs shiñ 'tshogs pas—lit. meeting and meeting. *militvā militvā*; the Caryā text has *meli* which may be corrected as *meli meli*.

7. lam ni 'gog pa'i 'jigs pa—lit. *pathi pratibandhaka-bhayam*; the Caryā text has *vāṭa abhaya khālṭa* which ought to be corrected as *vāṭata bhaya khāṇṭa*; thams cad—*sarvam*, the Caryā text has *ṣaya vi* which should be corrected as *sava vi*.

10. namkha'i tiñ ñe 'dsin—lit. *gagana-samādhīḥ prāptaḥ*; the Caryā text has *gaṇe pamāṣi* which should be corrected as *gaṇe samāṣi*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XXXIX

[203^b3-6]

Mal. lā. si shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Sa. ra.ha'i shabs kyi'o—

ston űid lag pas hol eig kye ।
khyod kyi raṅ gi yid kyi skyon ।
bla ma'i gsuṅ gi spyod lam kye ।
khyod űid slar 'doṅ ji lta bu ॥ [2]
rmaḍ byuṅ hūm skyes namkha' la ।
kyog pōr 'gro ba bslad gyis la ।
pha rol 'gro ba 'joms pa yis ।
khyod kyi gyo rgyu sna tshogs pa ॥ [4]
ño mtshor srid pa'i gti mug la ।
kye ma raṅ daṅ bshan dag mthoṅ ।
'gro 'di chu yis chu beu bu 'dra ।
lhan cig skyes pa'i stoṅ pa bdag ॥ [6]
bdud rtsi yod bshin dug med kyi ।
gshan dbaṅ sems kyi bdag khyim na ।
btuṅ ba bdag gis go ba (?) kye ।
bdag ni ma ruṅs gñen bdun ba ॥ [8]
Sa. ra. has smras mtshog yid gyur ।
bdag ci ma ruṅs glaṅ la ni ।
geig bus 'gro 'joms par byed ।
kye ma bdag ni raṅ 'dod spyod ॥ [10]

Mallāsi iti nāma rāgaḥ Sarahapādānām—

bho ! śūṇyabāhuh vidāritaḥ tava nija-mana doṣeṇa ।
guruvacana-vihāre re traṁ punar gacchasi katham re putra ॥ [2]
āścaryabhuta-hūm-jāta-gagane vaṅkaṁ gatvā praduṣṭaḥ ।
pāraṁ gatvā bhagnaḥ tava vijñānaṁ nānā ॥ [4]

*adbhutaḥ bhavamohah bho ! ātma-param drśyate |
 etad jagat jalavimbākāraṁ sahaje sūnya ātmā || [6]
 amṛte vidyamāne viṣaṁ nāsti paracittaḥ bho ! ātmānam vāsaḥ |
 pānam mayā boddhyeyam ; mama duṣṭāḥ bāndhavāḥ || [8]
 Sarahena bhanyate caracittaḥ kiṁ bhavati mama duṣṭaḥ vṛṣaḥ |
 ekakena jagat vināśitaḥ bho ! vihara (?) svacchandena | [10]*

The name of the *rāga* in the Caryā text is *Mālaśī* < *Mālaśrī*.

1. The Caryā text has *suiṇā ha acidāra* are which may be corrected with the help of the commentary—*svapne'pi...sphāritāḥ* as *suiṇe ho vidārīta re*; but the Tibetan translation shows that the original text was—*suṇabāha vidāria re* lit. “the hands of *sūnyatā* are extended.”

2. *Slar 'doṅ*—lit. “again go” hence “to go round” the Caryā text has *ghuṇḍa*.

3. *rmañ byuñ*—admirable, the Caryā text has *akaṭa* = *āścaryam* ; *huṁ skyes namkh*—lit. *huṁjāta gagana* ; the Caryā text has *hū bhavai apā* which should be corrected as *huṁ-bhava-gaṇā*; *Kyog por 'gro ba bslad gyis*—lit. *vakraṁ gataḥ praduṣṭeṇa* ; the Caryā text has *vaṅge jāyā nilesi* which, though not clear, may be interpreted as—“you have taken a wife in *Vaṅga* (country and has done an improper act).” The translator has probably rendered the sense only.

pha rol 'gro ba 'joms pa yis, khyān kyī gyo sgyu sna tshogs pa—lit. *pāram gatvā vīnaṣṭāḥ tava kaukrtyāḥ nānā* ; the Caryā text has *pare bhāgela tohāra viṇāṇā* which should be corrected as—*pāre bhāgela...*

5. *adaabhua, mohāro, apyaṇā* of the Caryā text should be corrected as *adbhua, moha re* and *appaṇā*.

6. *jalavimbakāre* of the text should be corrected as *-kāra*.

7. *amiyā* of the text should be corrected as *amiā*; *pasara casa apā* of the text is not clear ; it may be corrected as *paracasa apā* in the light of the translation.

10. *vīrahā īcchandrē* of the text = *vīharahu succhandē* ; cf. the comm. *svacchandena vīharuṇam karomi*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XL

[204^b5-7]

Mā. la. sī. go. ḍa la shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs nag po spyod
pa shabs kyi'o—

gaṅ shig yid kyi spyod yul mig 'phrul 'dra ।
luṅ daṅ po. ti brdsun kyi phreṅ ba yin ॥ [2]
ji ltar smra bas lhan skyes brjod par nus ।
lus ṅag yid la gaṅ du mi 'jug go ॥ [4]
bla mas brdsun gyi thabs kyis slob ma la ।
ṅag gi lam las 'das pa ji ltar smra ॥ [6]
gaṅ de smra ba de rnams brdsun ।
bla ma'i thobs kyis slob ma 'khrul par bya ॥ [8]
Ka-hnas rgyal ba'i rin chen ji ltar smra ।
lkugs pas lon par smra ba ji bshin no ॥ [10]

Mālasī-goḍa iti nāma rāgaḥ Kṛṣṇacaryāpādānam—

yat manogocaram indrajālam ।
āgamapotih mithyā iṣṭa-mālā ॥ [2]
bhaṇa katham sahaṇa kathayitum arhati ।
kāya-vāk-cittāḥ yasmin na praviśanti ॥ [4]
guruṇā mithyopāyena śiṣyaḥ upadiśyate ।
vākpathātitaṁ katham kathayate ॥ [6]
yat kathayati tat sarvaṁ mithyā ।
guru-bodhena śiṣyaḥ bhrāntaḥ [8]
Kāhnena jinaratnaṁ kīdrk bhanyate ।
mūkena andhaḥ upadiṣṭaḥ yathā ॥ [10]

The name of the *rāga* appears in the Caryā text as *Mālasī garuḍā* ;
garuḍa came to be known as *gaṇḍa* or *goḍa* and it is the latter
form which has been transcribed in Tibetan.

1. *yiḍ kyī spyod yul*—lit. subjected to the mind—*mano-gocara* ; the Caryā text has *maṇa goera* which should be corrected as *maṇa goara*.

mig 'phrul 'dra—lit. *indrajāla* ; the Caryā text has *ālā jālā* which is explained in the comm. as *vikalpajālaṃ*.

2. *brdsun kyī phreṅ ba*—"brdsun" means—lie, falsehood, *mithyā* which does not occur in the Caryā text ; the Caryā text has *iṣṭā māla* which is translated as *phreṅ ba*.

5. *brdsun gyi thabs kyis*—lit. by false means ; the Caryā text has *āle* to be corrected as *ālē* ; explained in the comm. as *niṣphalaṃ*.

7. *brdsun—mithyā* ; the Caryā text has *tāla* which means the same thing ; cf. the comm.—*tālanam-asadrūpaṃ*.

8. *bla ma'i thabs kyis*—lit. through the means (=instructions) of the Guru ; the Caryā text has *guru-bodhase* (=guru-bodhena), but the comm. understands it as *guru-bobase* (*vacana-daridra*). The commentator had probably the right reading before him ; cf. the last line of the Caryāpāda where the analogy of a dumb man leading a blind one is repeated.

'khrul par bya—misled, *bhrāntaḥ* ; the Caryā text has *kāla* which means "hard of hearing" (comm. *badhira*).

9. *ji ltar—kīḍṛśaḥ* ; the Caryā text has *jīna raṇa vikaṣāṣ sū* which should be corrected as *jīnaraṇa vi kṛṣā*.

10. *lkugs pas loṅ par smra ba*—the translator had before him—*bobē kāṇa sambodhiā* (=mūkena andhaḥ sambodhitāḥ).

THE CARYĀPADAS

XLI

[205^b2-5]

Gu-ñja-ri shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Bhu-su-ku pa'i shabs
kyi'o—

dañ po ma skyes pa ñid kyis ।
'gro rnamś de yis 'khrul par śes ।
thag pa sbrul mthoñ skrag pa yis ।
ji ltar gañ gi khamś kyis zas ॥ [2]
no mtshar gañ śig rnam par dpyod ।
lag pas sge bar ma byed cig ।
de ltar rañ bshin gal te 'gro ।
śes na khyod kyis bag chags za ॥ [4]
mya ñan smig rgyu dri za'i groñ ॥
chu zla gzugs brñan ji bshin no ।
rluñ ni 'khor bas brtan par 'gyur ।
chu ni rdo ba ji bshin no ॥ [6]
mo gsham bu ni ji ltar rtse ba ltar ।
rtsed mo rnam pa mañ po rtse bar byed ।
bye ma'i mañ khu ri boñ rva dañ ni ।
namkha'i me tog rgyas pa ji bshin no ॥ [8]
Rā-u-ta yid dmag gtam Bhu-su-ku ।
dños tshags rañ bshin mtha' dag gtam ñid do ।
gañ du rmoṅś pa 'khrul pa yod gyur na ।
bla ma dam pa'i shabs la dri bar gyis ॥ [10]

Guñjarī iti nāma rāgaḥ Bhusukupādānām—

ādaṁ janmahīnatayā jagat etad bhrāntiḥ [iva] jāñhi ।
rajjū-sarpaṁ dṛṣṭvā saṁtrāsitaḥ, tena yathā lokāḥ khāditaḥ ॥ [2]
āścaryaṁ yat vicāraṁ hastaiḥ lavanāktaiḥ mā kuru ।
īdrśa-svabhāvena yadi jagat jāñhi tava vāsanā khādita [tadā] ॥ [4]

maru-marīcikā-gandharva-nagarī jale candraprativimbam

yādṛśam ca

vātācārte [saḥ] dṛṣṭvā sañjātaḥ āpau prastaraḥ yādṛśaḥ || [6]

bandhyā-sūtaḥ yathā krīḍām karoti bahuvidham krīḍām karoti

bālukā-tailam sāsakaśṛṅgam ākāśa-puṣpaḥ ca yādṛśam || [8]

Rāūtunā mano-kāṭakaḥ kathayate Bhusukuh kathayati

sakala-srabhāram

yadi mūḍhaḥ bhrāntim karoti sadgurupādam prccha || [10]

The name of the *rāga* is given in the Caryā text as *Kanhuguṇjarī*, which is otherwise unknown. It seems to be a mistake for *Guṇjarī*.

1. *ma skyes pa ṇid kyis*—lit. *ajātataṃ*; the Caryā text has *anuanā* which the comm. explains as *anutpannabhācalena*; *śes*—to know, the Caryā text has *paḍihā* < *pratibhāti*.

2. *thag pa sbrul*—*rajjusarpa*; the Caryā text has *rājusāpa*.

The Caryā text has—*rāja sāpa dekhi jo camakiḥ ṣāre kim tam* (*kaṁ*) *boḍo khāi* which is explained in the comm. as *rajjau sarpābhijñānam kṛtrā saṁtrāsito yaḥ—so'pi tena rajjusarpeṇa kim satyena khāditaḥ*; in the light of this explanation and with the help of the Tib. translation (which is not however literal) the line can be corrected as—*rājusāpa dekhi jo camakiḥ sāce kim ta boḍo khāi* (*boḍo* is a kind of serpent).

3. *rnam par dpyod*—lit. *vicāra*; the Caryā text however does not contain this word; it has on the other hand *joḍā* (< *yogin*) which is not translated.

4. *bag chags za*—“the desire eaten up;” the Caryā text has *tuṭa vāṣaṇā* to be corrected as *tuṭai vāṣaṇā*.

5. The Caryā text is corrupt after *gandha-nauri* (= *gandharva-nagarī*); it has *dāpatibimbu* which may be corrected either as *dā(paṇa)-paḍibimba* (reflection in the mirror) or preferably with the help of the Tib. translation as—*cāḍa-paḍibimba*—the reflection of the moon (in water).

6. *brtan pa*—*dṛḍha*; *diṭa* of the Caryā text therefore should be corrected as *diḍha*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XLII

[206^b3-5]

'dod pa sbyen pa shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs nag po spyod ba'i
shabs kyi'o—

sems kyi lhan skyes stoṅ ṅid rdsogs ṽ
phuṅ po daṅ bral sdug bsṅal med ṽ [2]
smras pa ji ltar Kā-hna med ṽ
bdag ni khamṣ gsum ḡtan du 'gro ṽ [4]
rmoṅs pa brtan ṅams 'jig beas mthoṅ ṽ
rlabs bal rgya mtsho ji ltar ska mo ṽ [6]
yoṅs bshin 'jig rten rmoṅs mi mthoṅ ṽ
'o ma mar yod bshin mi mthoṅ ṽ [8]
'gro 'oṅ med pa'i srid pa 'di yaṅ gaṅ ṽ
Kā-hna rnal 'byor ṅo bo ṅid bshin rol ṽ [10]

Kāmoda iti nāma rāgaḥ Kṛṣṇacaryāpādānām—

cittāḥ sahajena śūnya-saṁpūrṇaḥ ṽ
skandha-viyogaṁ duḥkhaṁ na ṽ [2]
bhaṇa kathāṁ Kāhnaḥ na [vidyate] ṽ
svayaṁ triloke pratyahaṁ carati ṽ [4]
mūrkhaḥ dṛḍhaṁ viraṣṭaṁ paśyati ṽ
bhagnaḥ taraṅgaḥ sāgaraṁ yathā śoṣati ṽ [6]
yathaiva [vidyamānaṁ] lokaṁ murkhaḥ na paśyati ṽ
duḡdha-madhye ghr̥taṁ vidyate yathā na paśyati ṽ [8]
bhavaḥ yāti na āgacchati na atra ko'pi ṽ
Kāhna-yogī bhāvena īdr̥ṣena vilasati ṽ [10]

2. The translation is not literal; the Caryā text has
kāndha-viyoe mā hohi visannā (= *skandha-viyoge viṣaṇṇaḥ na bhava*).

4. gtan du—*pratyaham*; the Caryā text has *anudinam*; the Caryā text has an additional word in the line—*pamāi* which is not translated: it should be corrected as *samāi* (= *praviśya*).

5. brtan—lit. *dr̥ḥa*; the Caryā text has *diṭa* which is to be corrected as *diḍha*; the meaning of the word in this line is not clear; the Comm. explains it as—*nīlapītādivarṇa-samsthāno hi yo bhāva*—

THE CARYĀPADAS

XLIII

[207^a5-208^b1]

Baṁ-ga-la shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṁs Bhu-su-ku'i shabs kyi'o—

lhan cig skyes pa'i śiṁ chen 'jig rten gsum na 'phro ।
namkha' daṁ mtshuṁs raṁ bshin beṁs nas grol ba gaṁ ॥ [2]
dpar na chu la chu bshag dbye bar mi nus ltar ।
de bshin yid kyi rin chen po mñam namkhar shugs ॥ [4]
gaṁ la bḍag ñid med pa de la gshan dag daṁ ।
thog ma mtha' med skye pa 'chi ba'i srid pa [med] ॥ [6]
Bhu-su-kus smras ño mtshar rjes skyes ño mtshar kun ।
'gro 'on daṁ bral de la dños daṁ dños med med ॥ [8]

Baṅgāla iti nāma rāgaḥ Bhusukupādānām—

*sahaja-mahātaruḥ trailokye sphuritaḥ ।
khasamasrabhāve bandhanāt muktaḥ kaḥ ॥ [2]
yathā jale jalām talitā bhedaṁ na drśyate ।
tathā manoratnaṁ samarase gagane praviśati ॥ [4]
yatra ātmā nāsti tatra paraḥ kutra ।
ādi-antau na janma-maraṇa-bhavāḥ na ॥ [6]
Bhusukunā bhāṇyate āścaryaṁ jātaṁ āścaryaṁ sarvaṁ ।
gamaṇāgamana-vihīne taśmin bhāvābhāvau na ॥ [8]*

1. 'phro—lit. *sphurita* ; the Caryā text has *phariaë* which should be corrected as *phuriāë*.

2. beṁs nas grol ba—lit. 'free from bondage'—*bandhanāt muktaḥ* ; the Caryā text is corrupt here and has *bāṇata ka* which ought to be corrected as *bāḍdhanata mukā*.

3. dbye bar mi nus ltar—lit. 'difference not seen'—*bhedaṁ na drśyate* ; the Caryā text has *bheḍa na drśyate* ; the Caryā text has *bheḍa na jāa*—which is to be corrected as *bheḍi na jāa*.

4. yid kyi rin chen po—lit. *mano-ratna*—‘mind-jewel ;’ the Caryā text is corrupt—*maraṇa aaṇā* which ought to be corrected as *maṇa raṇā*.

5. The original of this line in the Caryā text is corrupt—*jatpuṇāhi adhyātāsvaparelā kāhi* ; this ought to be corrected in the light of the Tibetan translation as—*jāsu ṇāhi appā tāsū parelā kāhi* (apparently Sāstri read wrongly *jatpu* for *jāsu*, *adhyā* for *appā*, *tāsva* for *tāsū*).

7. This line has not been quite literally translated ; *no mtshar rje* (or simply—*no mtshar*)—means—a miracle, a marvel ; the Caryā text has *kaṭa* (<*kṛta* ?).

The Caryā text has within the line—*rāūtu bhaṇai kaṭa* which is hypermetrical and is not translated in Tibetan (*Rāūtu* appears to be another name of Bhusuku).

8. ‘oñ—the Caryā text has *ārayi*, a wrong form for *āraṇ*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XLIV

[208°4-6]

Mal-la-rī shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Kaṁ-ka-'i ṇa'i shabs
kyi'o—

ston bar ston ṇid gaṅ tshe mthun 'gyur pa ।
chos rnam s thams cad di tshe 'char bar 'gyur ॥ [2]
yod pa'i skad cig bshi la yaṅ dag rtogs ।
dbus su 'gog pas bla med byaṅ chub po ॥ [4]
thig le nā-da sñiṅ la 'jug pa med ।
gshan du bltas pas gshan ni rnam par ṇams ॥ [6]
ji ltar 'oṅs ba de ltar śes bar gyur ।
dbus ru ni thams cad rnam par spon ॥ [8]
Kaṁ-ka-ṇa smra ka-'a-ya'i bran ।
thams cad rni ba śig de ṇid gshom med dbyaṅs ॥ [10]

Mallārī iti nāma rāgaḥ Kaṅkaṇapādānām—

*śūnyena śūnyaṁ yadā militam ।
sakalāḥ dharmāḥ tadā uditāḥ ॥ [2]
ridyate catuḥkṣaṇa-sambodhiḥ ।
madhya-nirodhaḥ anuttara-bodhiḥ ॥ [4]
bindu-nādaḥ hr̥daye na praviṣṭau ।
anyaṁ dr̥ṣṭvā anyathā vināṣṭā ॥ [6]
yathā āgataḥ tathā jñāyatām ।
madhye tiṣṭhvā sarvaṁ parityaja ॥ [8]
Kaṅkanāḥ bhaṇati kalaya-śabdena ।
sarvaṁ śrotuṁ śakyate tathatā-anāhata-nādena ॥ [10]*

The name of the author occurs in the Caryā text as
Kaṁkaṇapāda.

2. chos rnam s thams cad—*dharmāḥ sakalāḥ* ; the text has
saaladhāma < *sakaladharma*.

6. The Caryā text has—*biduṇāda ṇa hīe pañhā* which should be corrected as *bindu ṇāda ṇa hīe pañhā*.

8. *dbus* = *madhyam* ; the text has *māsē* (sic. *mājhē*).

9. *ka la-ya'i bran*—*kalaya*, sound ; the text has *kalayala sāde* < *kalakala-śabdēna*.

10. *rni ba* seems to be a mistake for 'rna ba'—to listen ; the Caryā text has *vicchurila* which may be corrected as *vi śunila* ; *de ñid* = *tathatā* ; *tadhatā* of the Caryā text is a copyist's mistake for *tathatā*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XLV

[209^a1-3]

Mal-lā-ri shes bya ba'i glu dbyan̄s nag po shabs kyi'o—
yid ljon dbaṅ lña'i yal can de la |
'dod pa 'bab pa'i lo 'bras 'bab par byed || [2]
mchog gi bla ma'i gsun̄ gi sta res bead |
Kā-hnas smras ba śiṅ ljon slar mi skye || [4]
śiṅ de dge daṅ mi dge'i chu yis 'phel |
mkhas pas gcod pa bla ma'i tshad kyis ni || [6]
śiṅ gaṅ gcod daṅ rtub pa mi śes na |
rul nas ltun̄ shiṅ rmon̄s űid srid par mos | [8]
stod pa'i śiṅ mchog namkhar sta re yis |
śiṅ de'i yal ga rtsu gñid nas gcod || [10]

Mallāri iti nāma rāgaḥ Kṛṣṇapādānām—
manotaruh pañcendriyāni śākhāḥ taśmin |
āsā-bahana-patram phalaṁ bahanti || [2]
vara-guru-vacana-kuṭhāreṇa chindhi |
Kāhnena bhanyate taruḥ punar na utpadyate || [4]
so taruḥ śubhāśubha-jalena vardhyate |
vidvat-janaḥ chidyati guru-parimāṇena || [6]
yaḥ taruṁ chinatti bhedaṁ na jānāti |
sañitvā patati re mūrkhā ! tatra bhavagrahaṁ karoti || [8]
śūnya-tarucaraḥ gagana-kuṭhāraḥ |
tasya taroḥ śākhāṁ mūlaṁ eva chindhi || [10]

2. 'dod pa 'bab pa—lit. *āsā-bahana* ; *āsā-bahala* of the Caryā text therefore should be corrected as *āsā-bahana* ; 'bras 'bab pa—lit. *phalaṁ bahati* ; the Caryā text has *ha bāhā* (Śāstrī-*phalāhā*) which should be corrected as *phalabāhā*.

5. 'phel—lit. *vardhyate* ; the Caryā text has *vāṭaṭi* which should be corrected as *vāḍhaṭi* < *vardh-*.

9. *śiñ mchog*=*taruvara* ; the Caryā text has simply *taru* which renders the metre defective ; it may therefore be corrected as *taruvara*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XLVI

[209^b4-6]

Sa-ba-rī shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Dsa-ya-nan-ta'i shabs kyi'o—

rmi lam gzug brñan ji bshin blta bar gyis ।
bar gyi srid pa ñid kyañ de bshin no ॥ [2]
gal te yid ni rmoṅs las rnam grol na ।
de tshe 'chē dañ 'oñ ba rgyun chad 'gyur ॥ [4]
tshig pa ma yin gśer min rgyun mi 'chad ।
sgyu ma la rmoṅs skra dkar gñer 'jig ltos ॥ [6]
lus ni grib ma sgyu ma dañ mtshuṅs pa ।
phyogs ni gñis po der ni sna tshogs mtshar ॥ [8]
sems kyi de ñid rañ bshin sbyañ bar gyis ।
Dsa-na-ntas smras gsal byed gshan mun ni ॥

Śabarī iti nāma rāgaḥ Dsa-ya-nantī-pādānām—

svapne prativimbarṃ yādṛśaṃ paśya ।
antarāle bhavo'pi tādṛk ॥ [2]
yadi manaḥ moha-vimuktaḥ ।
tadā gamanāgamanau trutyataḥ ॥ [4]
na dahyate na majjate na chitte ।
māyā-moha-valinā naśyate paśya ॥ [6]
kāyā chāyā-māyā-sadrśī ।
pakṣa-dvaye tatra nānā vijñānaṃ ॥ [8]
cittaḥ tathatā-svabhāvena śodhitaḥ ।
Dsanantena bhanyate sphuṭaṃ anyam na bhavati ॥ [10]

The name of the author in the original is *Jayanandī* ; the Tibetan transcription is therefore incorrect.

1. rmi lam gzug brñan—lit. reflected image in dream—*svapne prativimba* ; the Caryā text—*suape adaśa* which should be corrected as *suīṇe ādaśa* (< *svapne ādarśa*).

3. yid—mind: the Caryā text—*māṇā* sic. *maṇā* ; rmoṅs = *moha*, the Caryā text—*moda*, justly corrected by Śāstrī as *moha*.

5. chig pa mo yin gser min—lit. neither burnt nor drenched = *na dahyate na majjate* ; the Caryā text—*naṁ dāṭaṁ naṁ timaṁ* which should be corrected as *ṇaṁ dāḍhaṁ ṇaṁ timaṁ*.

6. sgyu ma la rmoṅs—lit. *māyā-moha* ; the Caryā text—*moa mohe* to be corrected as *māā-mohe*.

7. lus ni grib ma sgyu ma dan mtshuṅs pa—lit. *kāyāyān chāyā-māyā-saḍṣī* ; the Caryā text—*chāu māā kāa samāṇā* which should be corrected as *kāa chāa-māa-samāṇā*.

9. sbyan bar—lit. 'washed' hence 'śodhita'—purified ; the Caryā text—*sohia* = *sohia*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XLVII

(210^b3-5]

Gtu. rjja ri shes bya ba'i glu dbyañs chos pa'i shabs kyi'o—

rdo rje pa-dmai dbus su gyur pa blañs |

mñam ñid sbyor bas gtum ma 'bar bar gyur || [2]

ḍo(m). bi. ni yi khañ pa me yis tshig nas 'bar |

ri boñ 'dsin pa'i chu ni lon la gtor bar gyis || [4]

rtsva ni 'bar ba ma yin du ba mthoñ pa med |

riñ ba steñ du blañs nas namkhar rab tu shugs || [6]

rje btsun khyab 'jug dbañ phyag tshañs pa rnam ni tshig |

yon tan dgu rañ yul gyi groñ khyer rnam kyañ tshig || [8]

Dha. mas smras pa gsal por blañs nas rab tu śes |

rtsa phran lña las chu ni steñ du soñ bar gyur || [10]

Gurjjarī iti nāma rāgaḥ Dharmapādānām—

kulīśa-kamalayor madhye (yat) āsīt (tat) gr̥hyatām |

samatā-yogena caṇḍālī jvalitā || [2]

ḍombinī-grham agnīnā dāha-dagdham |

śasādhara-jalam gr̥hitrā siñcatām || [4]

tṛṇeṣu jvalanaḥ na, dhūmaḥ na dr̥śyate |

meru-śikharam gr̥hitrā gagane praviśati || [6]

hari-hara-brahmāḥ bhattachārakāḥ dagdhāḥ |

nava-guṇa-śāsana-pāṭakāḥ api dagdhāḥ || [8]

Dhāmena bhaṇyate sphūṭam gr̥hitrā jñāyatām |

pañca-nālaiḥ jalam ūrdhvaṁ gatam || [10]

The Caryā text does not mention the name of the *rāga* and gives the name of the author as *guñjarī-pādānām* ; this is evidently a confusion : *guñjarī* is a mistake for *gurjjarī* which is the name of the *rāga* ; the name of the author is *Dhāma* or *Dharmapāda*.

1. gyur ba blañs lit. " take what existed "

2. tshig nas 'bar—lit. *dāhadagdha*, the Caryā text—*dāha...lāgeli āgi*.

4. The Caryā text *saha ṣali laī ṣiñca hñ pāñi* which should be corrected with the help of the Tib. translation as—*sasahara luū siñcahu pāñi*.

7. The Caryā text—*phāṭaī harihara bāmha bharā* which is certainly wrong as the Tib. shows ; it should be corrected as *dāḍhaī hari-hara-bāmha nāḍā* ; *nāḍā* is required by the rhyme with *paḍā* (sic. *pāḍā*) of the next line ; *nāḍā* literally means 'shaven-headed monk' which may be rendered as—*rje btsun—bhaṭṭāraka*.

8. *gron khyer*—lit. city—*nagara* ; the Caryā text—*paḍā* sic. *pāḍā* < *pāṭaka*.

9. *blañs nas*—*grhītvā* ; the Caryā text has *leñgure* which is a mistake for *lehu re*.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XLVIII

[211^b2-4]

Pa.ta. ha shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Ku kku. ri ba'i shabs
kyi'o—

rdo rje skyes g.yur der shugs ।

mñam ñid sbyor ba'i dmag dpuñ tshogs ॥ [2]

yul dañ dbaṅ po'i groñ rnams bcom ।

stoñ ñid rgyal po bde chen miñ ॥ [4]

rña sgra duñ skad gshom du med pa'i dbyaṅs rnams sgrogs ।

gti mug srid pa'i dpuñ rnams riñ du 'du 'da' bar byas ॥ [6]

bde ba'i groñ khyer rtse mor gnas nas thams cad bsdus ।

sor mo gyen du bslaṅ nas Ku. kku. ri pa smra ॥ [8]

'di ni 'jig rten gsum du bde ba chen pos rgyal ।

de khon ñid kyi don sgra gshan gyis Ku.kku.ri pa'i shabs

kyis gsuṅs te ॥ [10]

Paṭaha iti nāma rāgaḥ Kukkurīpādānām—

kuliśa-jāta-nidrā vyapṛtā ।

samatā-yoga-senāganāḥ ॥ [2]

viṣayendrasya purasamūhān jītavantaḥ ।

śūnyatā-rājāḥ mahāsukhaṁ (iti) nāma ॥ [4]

tūrya-śaṅkha-dhvaninām anāhata-gītaṁ karoti ।

moha-bhava-balāni dūram atikrāntāni ॥ [6]

sukha-nagaryām agrasthāna-samūhaṁ gṛhītaṁ ।

aṅgulim ūrdhvam utkṣipya Kukkurīpādāḥ bhaṇati ॥ [8]

etat trilokaṁ mahāsukhena jītaṁ ।

tattvārthaḥ ninadya Kukkurīpādēna kathyate ॥ [10]

The original of this Caryā is missing on account of a lacuna in the text.

THE CARYĀPADAS

XLIX

[212⁵⁻⁷]

Mal. la. ri. tā. la geig pa shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs Bhu.
su. ku'i shabs kyi'o—

rgyal po'i gru ni pa. dīna' tshal nas 'bab |
brtse ba med bañ. gal yul khyer || [2]
di riñ Bhu. su. ku pa nan 'khrug śor |
rañ gi khyim mi mo ni gtum pos khyer || [4]
rnam pa lña po bsregs śiñ yul rnam ba rlag |
rañ sems rin chen bar [rtsi] 'gro sleb mi śes || [6]
gser dñul bdag la rtsi yan mi gnas na |
rañ gi khor byaṅs rin chen blaṅs nas gnas || [8]
bdag mdsod bye ba phrag bshi ma lus khyer |
gson bo dan ni śi la khyad par med || [10]

Mallāri [ekatāla] iti nāma rāgaḥ Bhusukupādānām—

*rāja-naukāṁ padma-rane bāhayati |
nirdaya(rūpena) baṁgaladeśaḥ grhītaḥ || [2]
adya Bhusuku antar-yuddhe parājitah |
nija-grhinī caṇḍalī grhīta [4]
pātana-paṇcukam dṛgḍham indriya-risayāḥ naśtāḥ |
nija-citta-ratnaṁ kutra gatrā praviṣṭaṁ na jānāmi || [6]
scaṇḍam raupyaṁ mama kiñcit api nāsti |
nija-parivāre ratnaṁ grhītrā tiṣṭhati || [8]
mama bhāṇḍāra-catuskōṣim aśeṣaṁ grhītaṁ |
jīvanta-maraye riśeṣaṁ nāsti || [10]*

1. rgyal pa'i gru ni—lit. the boat of the king—*rājanaukā* ;
the Caryā text—*rāja-nāca* which should be therefore corrected
as *rāja-nāva* ; padma'i tshal—lit. *padma-rana*, but the text has

padma-khālē (*khāla* means a canal); the Comm. has *aravinda-kuhara-hrada*—‘lotus lake’; tshal in the Tibetan translation may be a mistake for *mtsho la*—*mtsho* means ‘lake.’

2. *brtse ba med*—lit. devoid of pity—*nirdayam* ; the Caryā text *adaya*, which though explained by the commentator as *advaya* should be taken to mean *nirdaya* ; *bañ gal yul*—*bañgāla-deśa* ; *kṛṣa* of the Caryā text should therefore be corrected as *deśa* *luḍiū* (< *luṭia* < *luṇṭhita*) of the Caryā text has been translated by khyen—*grhītam*.

3. The translation is not literal ; the text has—*āji bhūsu(ku) bañgālī bhañlī* which lit. means—Bhusuku, you have become a *bañgālī* today” ; this has been translated as “*antaryuddhe parājītaḥ* (the people of *bañgāla* country had probably not much military reputation) !

5. The Caryā text *ḍahi jo pañcadhāt nāi divi sañjñā naṭhā*, which as the translation shows, is wrong and should be corrected as *ḍahia pañca-pāṭaṇa indivisā nāṭhā* ; cf. also the commentary—*pañca-pāṭanam-iti...dagdham, indriyaviṣayañca*.

6. *soṇa tarua* of the text should be corrected as *soṇaa rua*—“gold and silver.”

8. *mahāsuhe thākiu* of the text does not seem to be exact ; the Comm. has *mahāasukha(ratna) nimagno’ham* ; there was probably *buḍiū* (meaning *nimagna-*) instead of *thākiu-*.

THE CARYAPADAS

L

[213^a5-213^b2]

dga' bas brtse ba shes bya ba'i glu dbyaṅs ri khrod shabs
kyi'o—

namkha' namkhar son ba lta shin sta res geod 1
mgul tu bdag med gshon nu ma ni sad nas rned ॥ [2]
sgyu ma la rmoṅs ma ruṅs yan lag can ni spoṅs shin spoṅs 1
Sa-ba-ra ni bde chen gyis sgeg stoṅ pa'i mi mo len ॥ [4]
bdag gis ldum ra bltas pasnamkha' daṅ mtshuṅs mñam shin 'dra 1
ras bal me tog shin tu rgyas pas rab tu dga' bar 'gyur ॥ [6]
kaṁ-gu tsan smin gyur riṅon pa pho mo bde bar gyur 1
ñin mtshan Sa-ba-ri pa rtsir yaṅ bsam med bde chen myos ॥ [8]
phyogs bshi rnam su smyug ma'i rib mas legs par bskor nas phyin 1
Sa-ba-ri yis de byas bya daṅ lee spyañ rnam ni rgyu ॥ [10]
khyod ni gsad byas phyogs beur gtor ma dkar po gton ba ltos 1
Sa-ba-ri ni mya ñan 'das gyur srid rtsa thams cad shig ॥ [12]

Rāma-kṛī iti nāma rāgaḥ Śabarapādānām—

*gagane gagane tallagnām (vāṭikām) paśya kuṭhārikayā chindhi 1
kañṭhe nairātmā-bālikā jāgran gṛhnāti ॥ [2]
māyā-moha-ciśama-(karm)āṅgam parityaja parityaja 1
Śabarāḥ mahāsukhena cilasati śūnya-nārīṁ gṛhītvā ॥ [4]
mama udyāna-vāṭikām dṛṣṭvā khasama-samatulyām 1
karpāsa-puṣpam prasphuṭitam atyartham ānanditāḥ bhavati ॥ [6]
kaṅguri(phalam) pakvam jātam Śabara-śabarī mattau 1
ahorātram Śabarī-pādaḥ kimapi na bhāvayati
mahāsukhena vihralāḥ ॥ [8]
caturdikṣu cañśa-cañcūrikayā prakṛṣṭarūpena reṣṭitam 1
Śabariṇā tathā kṛtam śakuni-śṛgālāḥ sañcaranti [10]
tata mārītam daśadikṣu bali-dānam dattam paśya 1
Śabari-[vyāpāre] nirvṛtam bhava-mūlam sarvaṁ ॥ [12]*

APPENDIX

THE ORIGINAL TEXT

I

রাগ [পটমঞ্জরী]—লুইপাদানাম্—

কাআ তরুবার পঞ্চবি ডাল ।

চঞ্চল চীএ পইঠা কাল ॥ [২]

দিঢ় করিঅ মহাসুহ পরিমাণ ।

লুই ভগই গুরু পুচ্ছিঅ জাণ ॥ [৪]

সঅল সমাহিঅ কাহি করিঅই ।

সুখ দুখেতৈঁ নিচিত মরিঅই ॥ [৬]

এড়িএউ ছান্দকবান্ধ করণ কপটের আস ।

সুনুপাখ ভিড়ি লেহুরে পাস ॥ ৫ ॥ [৮]

ভগই লুই আমহে বাণে দিঠা ।

ধমণ চমণ বেণি পাণ্ডি বইঠা ॥ [১০]

Rāga Paṭamanjarī ; Luīpādānām—

kāa taruvara pañcavi ḍāla

cañcala cīe paīṭhā kāla ॥ [2]

diḍha karia mahāsuha parimāṇa ।

Luī bhaṇaī guru pucchia jāṇa ॥ [4]

saala samāhia kāhi kariaī ।

sukha dukhetṛ nicita mariaī ॥ [6]

edīeū chāndaka-bāndha karaṇa kapaṭera āsa ।

sunupākha bhidi lehure pāsa ॥ [8]

bhaṇaī Luī āmhe jhāṇe diṭhā ।

dhamāṇa camāṇa beṇi pāṇḍi baīṭhā ॥ [10]

Text. 2. paīṭho ; 3. diṭa ; 6. mariaī ; 7. chāndaka-bāndha karaṇaka pāṭera ; 8. bhiti ; 9. sāṇe ; 10. bāṇa.

রাগ গবড়া — কুকুরীপাদানাম্—

ছুলি ছুহি পিটা ধরণ ন জাই ।

রুখের তেন্তুলি কুম্ভীরে খাই ॥ [২]

আঙ্গণ ঘরপণ সুন ভো বিআতী

কানেট চোরী নিল অধরাতী ॥ [৪]

সুসুরা নিদ গেল বহুড়ী জাগঅ ।

কানেট চোরে নিল কা গই মাগঅ ॥ [৬]

দিবসই বহুড়ী কাগ-ডরে ভাত ।

রাতি ভইলে কামরু জাঅ ॥ [৮]

অইসন চর্যা কুকুরী-পাএ গাইড় ।

কোড়ি মাঝে একু হিঅহি সমাইড় ॥ [১০]

Rāga Gavaḍā ; Kukkurīpādānām—

duṭi duhi piṭā dharāṇa na jāi ।

rukhera tentali kumbhīre khāi ॥ [2]

āṅgaṇa gharapaṇa suna bho viātī ।

kāneṭa caurī nila adharātī ॥ [4]

susurā nida gela bahuḍī jāgau ।

kāneṭa core nila kā gaī māgau ॥ [6]

divasaī bahuḍī kāga-ḍare bhāa ।

rāti bhaīle kāmara jāa ॥ [8]

aīsana caryā Kukkurīpāḥ gāḍa ।

koḍi mājhē eku hiāhī samāiḍa ॥ [10]

2. khāa; 4. cauri; 7. kāḍaī ḍare bhāa; 10. mājhe ekuḍi
ahī sanāiḍa.

III

রাগ গবড়া—বিরুবপাদানাম্—

এক সে শুণ্ডিনি দুই ঘরে সান্ধা ।
 চীঅণ বাকলঅ বারুণী বান্ধা [২]
 সহজে থির করি বারুণী সান্ধে ।
 জেঁ অজরামর হোই দিঢ় কান্ধে ॥ [৪]
 দশমি দুআরত চিহ্ন দেখইআ ।
 আইল গরাহক অপণে বহিআ ॥ [৬]
 চউশটী ঘড়িয়ে দেল পসারা ।
 পইঠেল গরাহক নাহি নিসারা ॥ [৮]
 এক ঘড়ুলী সরুই নাল ।
 ভগন্তি বিরুআ থির করি চাল ॥ [১০]

Rāga Gavaḍā ; Biruvapādānām—

eka se śuṇḍini duī ghare sāndhaa ।
cīāṇa vākalaa vāruṇī bāndhaa ॥ [2]
sahaje thira kari vāruṇī sāndhe ।
jē ajarāmara hoī diḍha kāndhe ॥ [4]
daśami duārata cihna dekhaā ।
āīla garāhaka apane bahiā ॥ [6]
caūṣaṭī ghaḍiye dela pasārā ।
paṭṭhela garāhaka nāhi nisārā ॥ [8]
eka ghaḍulī saruī nāla ।
bhaṇanti Biruā thira kari cāla ॥ [10]

4. *diṭa kāndhaḥ* (S.—*kāndha*); 7. *deṭa*; 9. *sa ḍulī*.

IV

রাগ অরু—গুণ্ডরীপাদানাং ।

তিঅডা চাপী জোইনি দে অঙ্কবালা ।
 কমলকুলিশ ঘাণ্ট করহুঁ বিআলী ॥ [২]
 জোইনি তঁই বিনু খনহিঁ ন জীবমি ।
 তো মুহ চুম্বী কমলরস পীবমি ॥ [৪]
 খেপহুঁ জোইনি লেপ ন জাঅ ।
 মণিকূলে বহিআ ওড়িআণে সমাঅ ॥ [৬]
 সাহু ঘরৈঁ ঘালি কোপা তাল ।
 চান্দসুজ বেণি পখা ফাল ॥ [৮]
 ভনই গুণ্ডরী অমহে কুন্দুরে বীরা ।
 নরঅ নারী মাঝেঁ উভিল চীরা ॥ [১০]

Rāga Aru ; Guṇḍarīpādānām—

tiadā cāpī joīni de aṅkarālī ।
kamala-kuliśa ghāṇṭa karahū biālī ॥ [২]
joīni tāi binu khanahī na jīvami ।
to muha cumbī kamalurasā pīvami ॥ [৪]
khepahū joīni lepa na jāa ।
maṇikule bahiā oḍiāṇe samāa ॥ [৬]
sāsu gharē ghālī koñcā tāla ।
cānda-suja beṇi pakhā phāla ॥ [৮]
bhaṇai Guṇḍarī amhe kundure vīrā ।
naraa narī mājhē ubhila cīrā ॥ [১০]

5. *khēpahu* ; *jāya* ; 6. *sagāa* ; 9. *ahme* ; 10. *majhē*.

রাগ গুর্জরী—চাটিলপাদানাম্ ।

ভবনই গহণ গম্ভীর বেগে বাহী ।
 দুআন্তে চিখিল মাঝে ন থাহী ॥ [২]
 ধামার্থে চাটিল সাক্ষম গঢ়ই ।
 পারগামি লোঅ নিভর তরই ॥ [২]
 ফাড়িঅ মোহতরু পটি জোড়িঅ ।
 অদঅ দিঢ় টাঙ্গী নিবাণে কোহিঅ ॥ [৬]
 সাক্ষমত চড়িলে দাহিণ বাম মা হোহী ।
 নিয়ডী বোহি দূর মা জাহী ॥ [৮]
 জই তুম্হে লোঅ হে হোইব পারগামী ।
 পুচ্ছহ চাটিল অনুত্তরসামী ॥ [১০]

Rāga Gurjari ; Cāṭillapādānām—

bhava-naï gahaṇa gambhīra vegē bāhī ।
duānte cikhila mājhē na thāhī ॥ [2]
dhāmārthe Cāṭila sāṅkama gaḍhaï ।
pāragāmi loa nibhara taraï ॥ [4]
phāḍḍia mohataru paṭi joḍia ।
adaa diḍha ṭāṅgī nivāṇe kohia ॥ [6]
sāṅkamata caḍile dāhiṇa vāma mā hoīhī ।
niadḍi bohi dura mā jāhī ॥ [8]
jaï tumhe loa he hoība pāragāmī ।
pucchaha Cāṭila anuttara sāmī ॥ [10]

1. bhavaṇaï; 3. gaṭaï; 6. diṭi; 10. pucchatu.

VI

রাগ পটমঞ্জরী - ভুসুকুপাদানাম্ ।

কাহেরে ঘেণি মেলি অচ্ছহ কীস ।
 বেঢ়িল হাক পড়অ চৌদীস ॥ [২]
 অপণা মাংসেঁ হরিণা বৈরী ।
 খনহ ন ছাড়অ ভুসুকু অহেরি ॥ [৪]
 তিন ন চ্ছুপই হরিণা পিবই ন পাণা ।
 হরিণা হরিণীর নিলঅ ন জাণী ॥ [৬]
 হরিণী বোলঅ স্ফণ হরিণা তো ।
 এ বন ছাড়ী হোহু ভাস্তো ॥ [৮]
 তরসঁন্তে হরিণার খুর ন দাঁসই
 ভুসুকু ভণই মূঢ়হিঅহি ন পইসই ॥ [১০]

Rāga Paṭamañjarī; Bhusukupādānām—

kāhere gheṇi meli acchahu kīsa ।
veḍhila hāka paḍaa caudīsa ॥ [2]
apaṇā māmsē hariṇā vairī ।
khanaha na chāḍaa Bhusuku aheri ॥ [4]
tiṇa na cchupaṭ hariṇā pivaī na pāṇī ।
hariṇā hariṇīra nilaa na jāṇī ॥ [6]
hariṇī bolaa suṇa hariṇā to ।
e vana cchāḍī hohu bhānto ॥ [8]
turasānte hariṇāra khura na dīsaī ।
Bhusuku bhaṇaī mūḍha-hiahi na paīsaī ॥ [10]

1. kahairi ghini ; 4. bhukua heri ; 7. hariā; 8. turāṅgante;
 dīsaā; 10. muḍhā hia hi; paīsaī.

VII

রাগ পটমঞ্জরী—কাহ্নুপাদানাম্—

আলিএঁ কালিএঁ বাট রুকেলা ।
 তা দেখি কাহ্নু বিমন ভইলা ॥ [২]
 কাহ্নু কহিঁ গই করিব নিবাস ।
 জো মনগোঅর সো উআস ॥ [৪]
 তে তিনি তে তিনি তিনি হো ভিন্না ।
 ভগই কাহ্নু ভবপরিচ্ছিন্না ॥ [৬]
 জে জে আইলা তে তে গেলা ।
 অবনাগবণে কাহ্নু বিমন ভইলা ॥ [৮]
 হেরি সে কাহ্নি নিঅড়ি জিনউর বটুই ।
 ভগই কাহ্নু মো হিঅহি ন পইসই ॥ [১০]

Rāga Paṭamañjarī ; Kāhnupādānām—

āliē kālīē vāṭa rundhelā ।
 tā dekhi Kāhnu vimana bhaīlā ॥ [2]
 Kāhnu kahī gaī kariba nirāsa ।
 jo managoara so uāsa ॥ [4]
 te tini te tini tini ho bhinnā ।
 bhaṇaī Kāhnu bhava-paricchinnā ॥ [6]
 je je āīlā te te gelā ।
 avanāgavane Kāhnu vimana bhaīlā ॥ [8]
 heri se Kāhni niāḍi jinaūra vaṭṭaī ।
 bhaṇaī Kāhnu mo hiahi na paśsaī ॥ [10]

1. ali ē ; kali ē ; 5. tetini ; tetini ; 8. bhaīlā ; 10. mohiahi.

VIII

রাগ দেবক্রী—কম্বলাম্বরপাদানাম্—

সোনে ভরিতী করুণা নাবী ।
 রূপা থোই নাহিক ঠাবী ॥ [২]
 বাহতু কামলি গঅণ উবেসেঁ ।
 গেলা জাম বাহুড়ই কইসেঁ [৪]
 খুন্টি উপাড়ী মেলিলি কাচ্ছি ।
 বাহতু কামলি সদগুরু পুচ্ছি ॥ [৬]
 মাঙ্গত চড়্হিলে চউদিস চাহঅ ।
 কেডুআল নাহি কেঁ কি বাহবকে পারঅ ॥ [৮]
 বামদাহিণ চাপী মিলি মিলি মাঙ্গা
 বাটত মিলিল মহাসুহ সাঙ্গা ॥ [১০]

Rāga Devakrī ; Kambalāmbarapādānām—

sone bharitī karuṇā nācī ।
rūpā thoī nāhika ṭhābī ॥ [2]
bāhatu Kāmali gaṇa ubesē ।
geṭī jāma bāhuḍāī kaīsē ॥ [4]
khunṭi upāḍi melili kācchi ।
bāhatu kāmali sadguru pucchi ॥ [6]
māṅgata caḍhile caḍḍisa cāhaa ।
keḍuāla nāhi kē ki bāhavake pāraa ॥ [8]
vāmadāhiṇa cāpī mili mili māṅgā ।
vāṭata milila mahāsuha sāṅgā ॥ [10]

2. mahike ; 4. bahu ui ; 7. canhile ; 9. māgā ; 10. suṅgā.

IX

রাগ পটমঞ্জরী—কাহু পাদানাম্—

এবংকার দিড় বাখোড় মোড়িউ ।
 বিবিহ বিআপক বান্ধণ তোড়িউ ॥ [২]
 কাহু বিলসঅ আসবমাতা ।
 সহজ নলিনীবন পইসি নিবিতা ॥ [৪]
 জিম জিম করিণা করিণিরেঁ রিসঅ ।
 তিম তিম তথতা মঅগল বরিসঅ ॥ [৬]
 ছড়গই সঅল সহাবে সূধ ।
 ভাবাভাব বলাগ ন চুধ ॥ [৮]
 দশবলরঅণ হরিঅ দশদিসেঁ ।
 অবিথাকরিবুঁ দম অকিলেসেঁ ॥ [১০]

Rāga Paṭamañjarī ; Kāhnupādānām—

evamkāra diḍha bākhoda moḍḍiu ।
virīha viāpaka bāndhana toḍiu ॥ [2]
Kāhnu vilasā āsavamātā ।
sahaja nalinīvana paṛsi nivitā ॥ [4]
jima jima karinā karinirē risā ।
tima tima tathatā maagala varisā ॥ [6]
chaḍagaṛi saala sahāve sūḍha ।
bhāvābhāva balāga na chudha ॥ [8]
daśabala-raaṇa haria daśadisē ।
avidyā-karikū dama akilesē ॥ [10]

6. maa gala; 10. vidyākari damakū.

রাগ দেশাখ—[কাহ্নুপাদানাম্]—

নগর বাহিরে রে ডোম্বি তোহোরি কুড়িআ ।
 ছোই ছোই জাইসো বাহ্নগ নাড়িআ ॥ [২]
 আলো ডোম্বি তোএ সম করিব ম সান্ন ।
 নিঘিণ কাহ্ন কাপালি জোই লাংগ ॥ [৪]
 এক সো পদুমা চৌবটী পাখুড়ী ।
 তহিঁ চড়ি নাচঅ ডোম্বী বাপুড়ী ॥ [৬]
 হালো ডোম্বী তো পুছমি সদভাবে ।
 আইসসি জাসি ডোম্বি কাহারি নাবেঁ ॥ [৮]
 তান্তি বিকণঅ ডোম্বী অবর না চাংগেড়া ।
 তোহোর অন্তরে ছাড়ি নড় পোড়া ॥ [১০]
 তু লো ডোম্বী হাউ কপালী ।
 তোহোর অন্তরে মোএ যেণিলি হাড়েরি মালী ॥ [১২]
 সরবর ভাঞ্জিঅ ডোম্বী খাঅ মোলাণ ।
 মারমি ডোম্বী লেমি পরাণ ॥ [১৪]

Rāga Deśākha ; [Kāhnupādānām]—

nagara bāhire re ḍombi tohori kuḍiā ।
choi choi jāiso bāhṇa nāḍiā ॥ [২]
ālo ḍombi toē sama kariba ma sāṅga ।
nighiṇa Kāhna kāpāli joī lāṅga ॥ [৪]
eka so padumā caūsathī pākhuḍī ।
tahē caḍi nācaa ḍombī bāpuḍī ॥ [৬]
hālo ḍombī to puchami sadabhāre ।
āīsusi jāsi ḍombi kāhari nārē ॥ [৮]
tānti vikaṇaa ḍombī acara nā cāṅgedā ।
tohora antare chāḍi naḍa pedā ॥ [১০]

tu lo ḍombī hāũ kapālī |
tohora antare moẽ gheṇili hāḍeri mālī || [12]
saravara bhāñjia ḍombi khāa molāṇa
mārami ḍombī lemi parāṇa || [14]

1. *bārihirē*; 2. *chaīchoi*; *yāi so*; *bāmha*; 3. *karibe*; 4. *lāga*;
 5. *ekaso*; *padamā*; *cāũṣaṭṭhī*; 8. *aṣṣasi*; 9. *abara nā cāṅgatā*;
 10. *chāḍi naḍa eṭṭā*; 12. *ghalili*; 13. *bhāñjīa*.
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XI

রাগ পটমঞ্জরী—কৃষ্ণাচার্য্যপাদানাম্—

নাড়ি শক্তি দিচ্ ধরিঅ খাটে ।
 অনহা ডমরু বাজই বীরনাটে ॥ [২]
 কারু কপালী যোগী পইঠ অচারে ।
 দেহ নারী বিহরই একাকারে ॥ [৪]
 আলি কালি যণ্টা নেউর চরণে ।
 রবিশশী-কুণ্ডল কিউ আভরণে ॥ [৬]
 রাগ দেশ মোহ লাইঅ ছার ।
 পরম মোখ লবএ মুক্তাহার ॥ [৮]
 মারিঅ সাসু নগন্দ ঘরে শালী ।
 মাত মারিআ কারু ভইল কবালী ॥ [১০]

Rāga Paṭamañjari ; Kṛṣṇācāryapādānām—

nāḍi śakti diḍha dharia khāṭe ।
anahā ḍamaru vājaï vīranāṭe ॥ [2]
Kāhna kapālī yogī paṭṭha acāre ।
deha naarī viharāï ekākārē ॥ [4]
āli kālī ghaṇṭā neūra caraṇe ।
ravi-śasī-kunḍala kiū ābharāṇe ॥ [6]
rāga deśa moha lāïa chāra ।
parama mokha labāē muttāhāra ॥ [8]
māriā sāsū naṇanda ghare śālī ।
māa māriā Kāhna bhaṭla kabālī ॥ [10]

1. diṭa ; khaṭṭe ; 2. bājae ; vīranāṭe ; 4. viharāe ; ekārē ;
 7. deśa ; 8. muttāhāra ; 9. sāsū ; 10. bhaṭa.

XII

রাগ ভৈরবী—কৃষ্ণপাদানাম্—

করুণা পিছাড়ি খেলছ' নঅবল ।

সদগুরু-বোহেঁ জিতেল ভববল ॥ [২]

ফীটউ দুআ মারেসিরে ঠাকুর ।

উআরি উএসে কাহু গিঅড় জিনউর ॥ [৪]

পহিলেঁ তোড়িআ বড়িআ মারিউ ।

গঅবরেঁ তোড়িআ পাঞ্চজনা ঘালিউ ॥ [৬]

মতিএঁ ঠাকুরক পরিনিবিতা ।

অবশ করিআ ভববল জিতা ॥ [৮]

ভগই কাহু অম্হে ভাল দান দেহ' ।

চউষঠি কোঠা গুণিয়া লেহ' ॥ [১০]

Rāga Bhairavī ; Kṛṣṇapādānām--

karuṇā pihāḍi (?) khelahū naabala ।

sadguru-bohē jītela bhavabala ॥ [2]

phīṭai duā māresi re ṭhākura ।

uāri uēsē Kāhnu niāḍa jinaūra ॥ [4]

pahilē toḍiā baḍiā māriū ।

gaavarē toḍiā pāñcajanā ghāliū ॥ [6]

matiē ṭhākuraka parinivītā ।

avaśa kariā bhavabala jītā ॥ [8]

bhaṇai Kāhnu amhe bhāla dāna dehū ।

caūṣaṭṭhi koṭhā guṇiā lehū ॥ [10]

1. naa bala ; 3. mādesire ; 4. taāri ; uēsa ; 5. marāḍiu ;
6. toliā gholiu ; 7. parinivittā.

XIII

রাগ কামোদ—কৃষ্ণাচার্য্যপাদানাম্—

তিশরণ গাবী কিঅ অঠক মারী ।
 নিঅ দেহ করুণ শূনমে হেরী ॥ [২]
 তরিত্তা ভবজলধি জিম করি মাঅ সুইনা ।
 মাঝা বেণী তরঙ্গম মুনিআ ॥ [৪]
 পঞ্চতথাগত কিঅ কেড়ুআল ।
 বাহঅ কাঅ কাহিল মাআজাল ॥ [৬]
 গন্ধপারসরস জইসৌ তইসৌ ।
 নিংদ বিহনে সুইনা জইসৌ ॥ [৮]
 চিঅ কল্পহার স্তম্বত মাঙ্গে ।
 চলিল কাহু মহাসুহ সাঙ্গে ॥ [১০]

Rāga Kāmoda ; Kṛṣṇācāryapādānām—

tiśaraṇa ṇāvī kia aṭhaka mārī ।
nia deha karuṇā śūname herī ॥ [2]
tarittā bhavajaladhi jima kari māa suinā ।
mājha beṇī taraṅgama muniā ॥ [4]
pañca-tathāgata kia keḍuāla ।
bāhaa kāa Kānhila māājāla ॥ [6]
gandhaparasa-rasa jaīsō taīsō ।
niṁda vihune suīnā jaīsō ॥ [8]
cīa kaṇṇahāra suṇata māṅge ।
calīla Kāhna mahāsuha sāṅge ॥ [10]

7. *gandhaparasara ;*

XIV

ধনসীরাগ—ডোম্বীপাদানাম্—

গঙ্গা জউনা মাঝেঁ বহই নাই ।

তহিঁ বুড়িলী মাতঙ্গীপোইআ লীলে পার করেই ॥ [২]

বাহতু ডোম্বী বাহলো ডোম্বী বাটত ভইল উছারা ।

সদগুরু পাঅপএ জাইব পুণু জিগউরা ॥ [৪]

পাঞ্চ কেডুআল পড়ন্তেঁ মাঙ্গে পিঠত কাচ্ছী বান্ধী ।

গঅগছুখোলৈঁ সিঞ্চলু পাণী ন পইসই সান্ধি ॥ [৬]

চন্দসূজ্জ দুই চকা সিঠিসংহার পুলিন্দা ।

বামদাহিন দুই মাগ ন চেবই বাহতু ছন্দা ॥ [৮]

কবড়ী ন লেই বোড়ী ন লেই সুচ্ছড়ে পার করই ।

জো রথে চড়িলা বাহবা ন জাই কুলেঁ কুল বুলই ॥ [১০]

Dhanasī Rāga ; Dombīpādānām—

Gaṅgā jaṇinā mājhē re bahaī nāī ।

tahi buḍilī mātāṅgi-poīā līle pāra kareī ॥ [2]

bāhatu ḍombī bāha lo ḍombī vātata bhaīla uchārā ।

sadguru-pāa-paē jāība puṇu jina-ūrā ॥ [4]

pāñca-keḍuāla paḍante māṅge piṭhata kācchī bāndhī ।

gaṇa-dukholē siñcahu pāñī na paīsai sāndhi ॥ [6]

candasujja duī cakā sithi-saṁhāra pulindā ।

vāma-dāhiṇa dui māga na cevai bāhatu chandā ॥ [8]

kaḍaī na leī boḍī na leī succhaḍe pāra karaī ।

jo rathe caḍilā bāhabā na jāī kulē kula bulaī ॥ [10]

4. pāapatre (?) ; 5. piṭata ; 8. revai ; kareī ; 10. buḍai.

XV

রাগ রামক্ৰী—শান্তিপাদানাম্—

সঅ সম্বেঅণ সরুঅ বিআরৈঁ অলক্খ লক্খ ৭ জাই ।
 জে জে উজুব্বাটে গেলা অনাবাটা ভইলা সোই ॥ [২]
 কুলেঁ কুল মা হোইরে মুঢ়া উজুব্বাট সংসারা ।
 বাল ভিণ একু বাকু ৭ ভুলহ রাজপথ কন্ধারা ॥ [৪]
 মাআমোহ সমুদারে অন্ত ন বুঝসি থাहा ।
 আগে নাব ন ভেলা দীসই ভন্তি ন পুচ্ছসি নাহা ॥ [৬]
 সুনাপান্তর উহ ন দীসই ভান্তি ন বাসসি জান্তে ।
 এষা অটমহাসিদ্ধি সিবাই উজুব্বাট জান্তে ॥ [৮]
 বাম দাহিণ দো বাটা চ্ছাড়ী শান্তি বুলথেউ সংকেলিউ ।
 ঘাট ৭ গুমা খড়তড়ি ৭ হোই আখি বুজিঅ বাট জাইউ ॥ [১০]

Rāga Rāmakrī ; Śāntipādānām—

saa samveaṇa sarua viārē alakkha lakkha ṇa jāi ।
je je ujūvāṭe gelā anāvātā bhaṭṭā soi ॥ [২]
kulē kula mā hoṛe mūḍhā ujūvāṭa saṁsārā ।
bāla bhiṇa eku bāku ṇa bhūlaha rājapatha kandhārā ॥ [৪]
māa moha samudāre anta na bujhasi thāhā ।
āge nāva na bhelā dīsaī bhanti na pucchasi nāhā ॥ [৬]
sunā-pāntara uha na dīsaī bhānti na bāsasi jānte ।
eṣū aṭamahāsiddhi sijhai ujūvāṭa jāante ॥ [৮]
vāma dāhiṇa do vāṭā chāḍī Śānti bulatheū saṁkelīu ।
ghāṭa ṇa gumā khaḍataḍi ṇa hoī ākhi bujja vāṭa jāiū ॥ [১০]

1. alakkha-lakkhaṇa na jāi ; 2. soi ; 4. kaṇḍhārā ; 5. māāmohā ;
 6. age ; 8. sijhaē ; 10. ghāṭana gumā-khaḍataḍi no hoī.

XVI

রাগ ভৈরবী—মহীধরপাদানাম্—

তিনিএঁ পাচঁ লাগেলি রে অণহ কসণ ঘণ গাজই ।
 তা স্ননি মার ভয়ঙ্কর রে বিসঅ-মণ্ডল সঅল ভাজই ॥ [২]
 মাতেল চাঁঅ-গএন্দা খাবই ।
 নিরন্তর গঅগন্ত তুসেঁ যোলই ॥ [৪]
 পাপ পুণ্ন বেণি তোড়িঅ সিকল মোড়িঅ খস্তাঠাণা ।
 গঅণ-টাকলি লাগেলি রে চিত্ত পইঠ গিবাণা ॥ [৬]
 মহারসপানে মাতেল রে তিহুঅন সএল উএখী ।
 পঞ্চ-বিসঅ নায়করে বিপখ কোবি ন দেখী ॥ [৮]
 খররবি-বিকিরণ সন্তাপেঁ রে গঅণাঙ্গণ গই পইঠা ।
 ভণন্তি মহিআ মই এথু বুড়ন্তে কিম্পি ন দিঠা ॥ [১০]

Rāga Bhairavī ; Mahīdharapādānām—

tiniē pāṭē lāgeli re aṇaha kaṣaṇa ghaṇa gājaī ।
tā suni māra bhayaṅkara re visaa-maṇḍala saala bhājaī ॥ [2]
mātela cia-gaēndā dhāvaī ।
nirantara gaṇanta tusē gholaī ॥ [4]
pāpa puṇṇa beṇi todia sikala modia khambhā-ṭhāṇā ।
gaṇa-ṭākali lāgeli re citta paīṭha ṇivāṇā ॥ [6]
mahārasa-pāne mātela re tihuana saēla uēkhī ।
pañca-visaya-nāyaka re vipakha kobi na dekhī ॥ [8]
khararavi-vikirāṇa santāpē re gaṇāṅgaṇa gāi paīṭhā ।
bhaṇanti Mahiā māi ethu buḍante kimpi na diṭhā ॥ [10]

2. saa-maṇḍala; saēla; 3. gaandā; 5. puṇya; tiḍia; 6. gaṇa
 ṭākali; lāgire; 7. mahārasa pāne; 8. pañca-viṣaya re nāyaka re;
 ko bī; 9.—santāpere. 10. Mahittā.

XVII

রাগ পটমঞ্জরী—বীণাপাদানাম্—

সূজ লাউ সসি লাগেলি তান্তী ।
 অণহা দাণ্ডী একি কিঅত অবধূতী ॥ [২]
 বাজই অলো সহি হেরুঅ বীণা ।
 সুন তান্তিধনি বিলসই রুণা ॥ [৪]
 আলি কালি বেণি সারি সূণিআ ।
 গঅবর সমরস সান্ধি গুণিআ ॥ [৬]
 জবে করহা করহকলে চাপিউ ।
 বতিস তান্তি-ধনি সঅল বিআপিউ ॥ [৮]
 নাচন্তি রাজিল গাঅন্তি দেবী ।
 বুদ্ধনাটক বিসমা হোই ॥ [১০]

Rāga Paṭamañjarī ; Viṇāpādānām—

suja lāu sasi lāgeli tāntī ।
aṇahā dāṇḍī eki kiata avadhūtī ॥ [2]
bājaī alo sahi herua vīṇā ।
sunā tānti-dhani vilasāi ruṇā [4]
āli kālī beṇi sārī suṇiā ।
gaavara samarasa sāndhi guṇiā ॥ [6]
jabe karahā karahakale cāpiū ।
vatisa tānti-dhani saala viāpiū ॥ [8]
nācanti rājila gāanti devī ।
buddha-nāṭaka visamā hoī ॥ [10]

2. vāki ; 4. tānti dhani ; 5. suṇeā ; 7. karahaka lepi ciu ;
 8. tānti dhani ; 9. vājila gānti.

XVIII

রাগ গউড়া—কৃষ্ণবজ্রপাদানাম্—

তিগি ভুঅণ মই বাহিঅ হেলৈ ।
 হাঁউ স্ততেলি মহাস্থহ লীলৈ ॥ [২]
 কইসগি হালো ডোম্বী তোহোরি ভাভরী-আলী ।
 অস্তে কুলিণজণ মাঝেঁ কাবালী ॥ [৪]
 তঁইলো ডোম্বী সঅল বি টালিউ ।
 কাজণ কারণ সসহর টালিউ ॥ [৬]
 কেহো কেহো তোহোরে বিরুআ বোলই ।
 বিদুজন লোঅ তোরেঁ কণ্ঠ ন মেলই ॥ [৮]
 কাহে গাই তু কামচণ্ডালী ।
 ডোম্বী তআগলি নাহি চিহণালী ॥ [১০]

Rāga Gaüḍā ; Kṛṣṇavajrapādānām—

tiṇi bhuṇa maï bāhia helē ।
hāu suteli mahāsuha līlē ॥ [২]
kaīsani hālo ḍombī tohori bhābhari-ālī ।
ante kuṇiṇaṇa mājhē kābālī ॥ [৪]
tāilo ḍombī saala vi ṭāliu ।
kāṇa kāraṇa sasahara ṭāliu ॥ [৬]
keho keho tohore viruā bolaï ।
vidujana loa torē kaṇṭha na melaï ॥ [৮]
Kāhne gāï tu kāmacaṇḍālī ।
ḍombī ta-āgali nāhi cchiṇālī ॥ [১০]

2. *līlē*; 5. *viṭaliū*; 7. *kehe keho*; 8. *melaï*; 9. *gāïtu*.

XIX

রাগ ভৈরবী—কৃষ্ণপাদানাম্—

ভবনির্ব্বাণে পড়হ মাদলা ।

মণ পবণ বেণি করণ্ড কশালা ॥ [২]

জঅ জঅ দুন্দুহি সাদ উছলিলা ।

কাহ ডোম্বী-বিবাহে চলিলা ॥ [৪]

ডোম্বী বিবাহিআ অহারিউ জাম ।

জউতুকে কিঅ আণুতু ধাম ॥ [৬]

অহণিসি সুরঅ-পসঙ্গে জাঅ ।

জোইণিজালে রঅণি পোহাঅ ॥ [৮]

ডোম্বীএর সঙ্গে জো জোই রত্তো ।

খণহ ন ছাড়অ সহজ উন্মত্তো ॥ [১০]

Rāga Bhairavī ; Kṛṣṇapādānām—

bhavanirvāṇe paḍaha mādalā ।

maṇa pavana beṇi karaṇḍa kaśālā ॥ [2]

jaa jaa dunduhi sāda uchalilā ।

Kāhna ḍombī-vivāhe calilā ॥ [4]

ḍombī vivāhiā ahāriū jāma ।

jaūtuke kia āṇutu dhāma ॥ [6]

ahanisi suraa-pasaṅge jāa ।

joṇi-jāle raṇi pohāa ॥ [8]

ḍombī-era saṅge jo joṛ ratto ।

khaṇaha na chāḍaa sahaja-unmatto ॥ [10]

7. ahēnisi ; 8. raēṇi.

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রাগ পটমঞ্জরী—কুকুরীপাদানাম্—

হাঁউ নিরাসী খমণ ভতারি ।
 মোহোর বিগোআ কহণ ন জাই ॥ [২]
 ফিটলে গো মাএ অন্তউড়ি চাহি ।
 জা এথু চাহাম সো এথু নাহি ॥ [৪]
 পহিল বিআণ মোর বাসন পূড়া ।
 নাড়ি বিআরন্তে সেব বাপূড়া ॥ [৬]
 জা ণ জৌবণ মোর ভইলে সি পূরা ।
 মূল নখলি বাপ সংঘারা ॥ [৮]
 ভগথি কুকুরী-পা এ ভব থিরা ।
 জো এথু বুঝাই সো এথু বীরা [১০]

Rāga Paṭamañjarī ; Kukkuriṭpādānām—

hāu nirāsī khamaṇa bhatāri ।
mohora bigoā kahaṇa na jāi ॥ [2]
phitāle go māē antaūḍi cāhi ।
jā ethu cāhāma so ethu nāhi [4]
pahila biāṇa mora vāsana-puḍā ।
nāḍi viārante seva bāpūḍā ॥ [6]
jā ṇa jauvaṇa mora bhaīle si pūrā ।
mūla nakhali vāpa saṁghārā [8]
bhaṇathi Kukkuri-pā e bhava thirā ।
jō ethu bujhaī so ethu vīrā ॥ [10]

1. bhatāre; 2. phetaliu; anta uḍi; 3. jāēthu; bāhāma;
 5. bāsana-pūḍa; 7. jāṇa; bhaīlesi; 10. bujhaē.

XXI

রাগ বরাড়ী—ভুসুকুপাদানাম্—

নিসি অন্ধারী মুসা অচার।

অমিত ভখঅ মুসা করঅ অহার। [২]

মার রে জোইআ মুসা পবণ।

জেণ তুটঅ অবণা-গবণা। [৪]

ভব বিন্দারঅ মুসা খণঅ গাতী।

চঞ্চল মুসা কলিআ নাশক থাতী। [৬]

কাল মুসা উহ ণ বাণ।

গঅণে উঠি করঅ অমিত পাণ। [৮]

তবসে মুসা উঞ্চল পাঞ্চল।

সদগুরু-বোহে করহ সো নিচ্চল। [১০]

জবেঁ মুসা অচার তুটঅ।

ভুসুকু ভণঅ তবেঁ বান্ধন ফিটঅ। [১২]

Rāga Varāḍī ; Bhusukupādānām—

nisi andhārī musā acārā ।

amīa bhakhaa musā karaa ahārā [2]

māra re joīā musā pavaṇā ।

jeṇa tuṭaa avaṇā-gavaṇā ॥ [4]

bhava-bindāraa musā khaṇaa gātī ।

cañcala musā kaliṅ nāsaka thātī ॥ [6]

kālā musā uha ṇa bāṇa ।

gaṇe uṭhi karaa amīa pāṇa ॥ [8]

tavase musā uñcala pāñcala ।

sadguru-bohe karaha so niccala ॥ [10]

jabē musā acāra tuṭaa ।

Bhusuku bhaṇaa tabē bāndhana phīṭaa ॥ [12]

1. nisīa ; susāra (?) cārā ; 7. kalā muṣā ; uhaṇa ; 8. karaa
amaṇa dhāṇa ; 10. kariha ; 11. muṣā era cā.

XXII

রাগ গুঞ্জরী—সরহপাদানাম্—

অপণে রচি রচি ভবনির্বাণ ।

মিছে লোঅ বন্ধাবএ অপণা ॥ [২]

অন্ধে ণ জাণহু অচিন্ত জোই ।

জাম মরণ ভব কইসণ হোই ॥ [৪]

জইসো জাম মরণ বি তইসো ।

জীবন্তে মইলেঁ নাহি বিশেসো ॥ [৬]

জা এথু জাম মরণে বিসঙ্কা ।

সো করউ রস রসানেরে কঙ্খা ॥ [৮]

জে সচরাচর তিঅস ভমন্তি ।

তে অজরামর কিম্পি ন হোন্তি ॥ [১০]

জামে কাম কি কামে জাম ।

সরহ ভণতি অচিন্ত সো ধাম ॥ [১২]

Rāga Guñjarī ; Sarahapādānām—

apane raci raci bhava-nirvāṇā ।

michē loa bandhāvaē apanā ॥ [2]

amhe ṇa jāṇahu acinta joi ।

jāma maraṇa bhava kaīsana hoī ॥ [4]

jaīso jāma maraṇa vi taīso ।

jīvante mailē ṇāhi viēso ॥ [6]

jā ethu jāma maraṇe visaṅkā ।

so karaū rasa rasānere kaṅkhā ॥ [8]

je sacarācara tiasa bhamanti ।

te ajarāmara kimpī na honti ॥ [10]

jāme kāma ki kāme jāma ।

Saraha bhaṇati acinta so dhāma ॥ [12]

.. ambhe ; 6. maalē.

XXIII

রাগ বড়ারী—ভুসুকুপাদানাম্—

জই তুমহে ভুসুকু অহেরি জাইবেঁ মারিহসি পঞ্চজণা ।
নলিণীবন পইসন্তে হোহিসি একুমণা ॥ [২]
জীবন্তে ভেলা বিহণি মএল গঅলি ।
হণবিণু মাসে ভুসুকু পদ্মবণ পইসহিলি ॥ [৪]
মাআজাল পসরি রে বাঁধেলি মাআহরিণী ।
সদগুরু বোহেঁ বুঝিরে কাসু কদিনি ॥ [৬]

Rāga Vaḍārī ; Bhusukupādānām—

*jaī tumhe Bhusuku aheri jāibē mārihasi pañcajanā ।
naliṇīvana paīsante hohisi ekumaṇā ॥ [2]
jivante bhelā vihaṇi maēla ṇaali ।
haṇaviṇu mēse Bhusuku padmavaṇa paīsahili ॥ [4]
māājāla pasari re bāḍheli māāhariṇī ।
sadguru bohē bujhire kāsū kadini ॥ [6]...*

1. aheī ; 2. nalaṇīvana ; 3. ṇaani ; 5. pasari ūre ;
paīsahili.

XXVI

রাগ শবরী—শান্তিপাদানাম—

তুলা ধুণি ধুণি ঐশ্বরে ঐশ্ব ।
 ঐশ্ব ধুণি ধুণি গিরবর সেস্ব ॥ [২]
 তউসে হেরুঅ ণ পাবিঅই ।
 সান্তি ভণই কি ণ স ভাবিঅই ॥ [৪]
 তুলা ধুণি ধুণি স্তুণে অহারিউ ।
 পুণ লইআ অপণা চটারিউ ॥ [৬]
 বহল বঢ় দুই মার ন দিশঅ ।
 শান্তি ভণই বালাগ ন পইসঅ ॥ [৮]
 কাজ ন কারণ জ এহ জুগতি ।
 সঅ-সঁবেঅণ বোলথি সান্তি ॥ [১০]

Rāga Śabarī ; Śāntipādānām—

tulā dhūṇi dhūṇi ṛsure ṛsu ।
ṛsu dhūṇi dhūṇi nīravara sesu ॥ [2]
taṁse herua ṇa pāviaṛ ।
Śānti bhaṇaṛ ki ṇa sa bhāviaṛ ॥ [4]
tulā dhūṇi dhūṇi suṇe ahāriṁ ।
pūṇa laṛā apanā caṭāriṁ ॥ [6]
bahala baḍha dui māra na diśaa ।
Śānti bhaṇaṛ bālāga na paśsaa ॥ [8]
kāja na kāraṇa ja ehu jugati ।
saa-sāveaṇa bolathi Śānti ॥ [10]

3. *taṁse* ; 4. *kiṇa sabhāvi ai* ; 7. *baṭa* ; 9. *jaḍhu jaati* ;
 10. *sāḍḍ-*.

XXVII

রাগ কামোদ—ভুস্কুপাদানাম্—

অধরাতি ভর কমল বিকসিউ ।
 বতিস জোইনী তসু অঙ্গ উল্লসিউ ॥ [২]
 চালিঅউ সসহর মাগে অবধুই ।
 রঅগছ সহজে কহেই ॥ [৪]
 চালিঅ সসহর গউ গিবাণে ।
 কমলিনি কমল বহই পণালৈ ॥ [৬]
 বিরমানন্দ বিলক্ষণ সুধ ।
 জো এথু বুঝই সো এথু বুধ ॥ [৮]
 ভুস্কু ভগই মই বুঝিঅ মেলৈ ।
 সহজানন্দ মহাসুহ লীলৈ ॥ [১০]

Rāga Kāmōda ; Bhusukupādānām—

adharāti bhara kamala vikasiu ।
vatisa-joinī tasu aṅga ulhasiu ॥ [2]
cāliaū sasahara māge avadhūi ।
raaṇahu sahaje kaheī ॥ [4]
cālia sasahara gaū nīvāṇē ।
kamalini kamala bahaī paṇālē ॥ [6]
viramānanda vilakṣaṇa sudha ।
jo ethu bujhaī so ethu budha ॥ [8]
Bhusuku bhaṇaī mai bujhia melē ।
sahajānanda mahāsuha līlē ॥ [10]

2. *unhasiu* ; 3. *cāliua, ṣaṣahara* ; 4. *ṣahaje* ; 5. *ṣaṣahara* ;
 6. *paṇālē* ; 8. *būjhai* ; 10. *lolē*.

XXVIII

রাগ বলাডিড—শবরপাদানাম্—

উচা উচা পাবত তহিঁ বসই সবরী বালী ।
 মোরঙ্গি পীচ্ছ পরহিণ সবরী গিবত গুঞ্জরী মালী ॥ [২]
 উমত সবরো পাগল সবরো মা কর গুলী গুহাডা তোহোরি ।
 গিঅ ঘরিণী নামে সহজ স্তন্দরী ॥ [৪]
 নানা তরুবর মোউলিল রে গঅণত লাগেলী ডালী ।
 একেলী সবরী এ বণ হিণ্ডই কর্ণকুণলবজ্জধারী ॥ [৬]
 তিঅ ধাউ খাট পড়িলা সবরো মহাস্থখে সেজি ছাইলী ।
 সবরো ভুজঙ্গ নৈরামণি দারী পেঙ্গ রাতি পোহাইলী ॥ [৮]
 হিঅ তাঁবোলা মহাস্থহে কাপুর খাই ।
 স্তন নৈরামণি কণ্ঠে লইআ মহাস্থহে রাতি পোহাই ॥ [১০]
 গুরুবাক্ পুঞ্জিআ বিদ্ধ নিঅমণ বাণে ।
 একে শরসন্ধানেঁ বিদ্ধহ বিদ্ধহ পরমণিবাণে ॥ [১২]
 উমত সবরো-গরুআ রোষে ।
 গিরিবর সিহর সন্ধি পইসন্তে সবরো লোড়িব কইসে ॥ [১৪]

Rāga Valāddi ; Śabarapādānām—

ūcā ūcā pāvata tahī vasaī savarī bālī ।
 morāṅgi pīccha parahiṇa savarī givata guñjarī mālī ॥ [২]
 umata savaro pāgala savaro mā kara gulī guhāḍā tohori ।
 ṇia gharinī nāme sahaja sundarī ॥ [৪]
 nānā taruvara moulila re gaṇṇata lāgelī ḍālī ।
 ekelī savarī e vana hiṇḍai karna-kunḍala-vajradhārī ॥ [৬]
 tia dhāū khāṭa paḍilā savaro mahāsukhe seji chāīlī ।
 savaro bhujaṅga nairāmaṇi dārī pemha rāti pohāīlī ॥ [৮]
 hia tẓbolā mahāsuhe kāpura khāi ।
 suna nairāmaṇi kaṇṭhe laīā mahāsuhe rāti pohāī ॥ [১০]

gurvāk puñchiā bindha nīmaṇa bāṇe |
eke śarasandhāṇē bindhaha bindhaha paramaṇivāṇe || [12]
umata Savaro garuā roṣe |
girivara sihara sandhi paisante Savaro loḍiba kaṛṣe || [14]

1. *tāhī* ; 3. *tohauri* ; 4. *sundārī* ; 5. *ṇāṇā* ; 8-10. *nirāmaṇi* ;
 [1. *puñchāḍ* ; *nīmaṇe*.
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XXIX

রাগ পটমঞ্জরী—লুইপাদানাম্—

ভাব ন হোই অভাব ণ জাই ।
 অইস সংবোহেঁ কো পতিআই ॥ [২]
 লুই ভণই বঢ় তুলকথ বিণাণ ।
 তিঅ ধাএ বিলসই উহ লাগে ণ ॥ [৪]
 জাহের বাণচিহ্ন রুব ণ জাণী ।
 সো কইসে আগম বেএঁ বখাণী ॥ [৬]
 কাহেরে কিস ভণি মই দিবি পিরিচ্ছা ।
 উদক চান্দ জিম সাচ ন মিচ্ছা ॥ [৮]
 লুই ভণই মই ভাবই কিস ।
 জা লই অচ্ছম তাহের উহ ন দিস ॥ [১০]

Rāga Paṭamañjarī ; Luipādānām—

bhāva na hoī abhāva ṇa jāī ।
aīsa sambōhē ko patiāī ॥ [2]
Luī bhaṇaī badha dulakkha viṇāṇā ।
tia dhāe vilasaī uha lāge nā ॥ [4]
jāhera vāṇa-cihna ruva ṇa jāṇī ।
so kaīse āgama veē vakhāṇī ॥ [6]
kāhere kisa bhaṇi māī dibi piricchā ।
udaka cānda jima sāca na micchā ॥ [8]
Lui bhaṇaī māī bhāvaī kisa ।
ā laī acchama tāhera uha ṇa disa ॥ [10]

2. āīsa 5. vāna ; 7. kiṣabhaṇi ; 9. bhāīva kīṣ ; 10. jālaī
 ācchamatā hera.

XXX

রাগ মল্লারী—ভুসুকুপাদানাম্—

করুণা মেহ নিরন্তর ফরিআ ।

এবাভাব দ্বন্দল দলিআ ॥ [২]

উইত্তা গঅণ মাঝেঁ অদভূআ ।

পেখরে ভুসুকু সহজ সরুআ ॥ [৪]

জাসু সুনন্তে তুটুই ইন্দিআল ।

নিঞএ নিঅ মন দে উলাল ॥ [৬]

বিসঅ বিশুদ্ধেঁ মই বুজ্ঝিঅ আনন্দে ।

গঅণহ জিম উজোলি চান্দে ॥ [৮]

এ তিলোএ এত বি সারা ।

জোই ভুসুকু ফেড়ই অন্ধকারা ॥ [১০]

Rāga Mallārī ; Bhusukupādānām—

karuṇā meha nirantara phariā ।

bhāvābhāva dvandala daliā ॥ [2]

uṭṭā gaṇa mājhē adabhūā ।

pekhare Bhusuku sahaja saruā ॥ [4]

jāsu sunante tuṭṭai indiāla ।

nihue ṇa mana de ulāla ॥ [6]

visaa viśuddhē mai bujjhiā ānande ।

gaṇaha jima ujoli cānde ॥ [8]

e tiloe eta vi sārā ।

joi Bhusuku phedai andhakārā ॥ [10]

2. *daliyā* ; 6. *nihure* ; *mana ṇa* ; *ulāsa* ; 7. *viśuddhī* ;
9. *viṣāra* ; 10. *hebbhaṭ* (for *phedai*).

XXXI

রাগ পটমঞ্জরী—আর্যদেবপাদানাম্—

জহি মণ ইন্দিঅ পবণ হোই গঠা ।
 ৭ জানমি অপা কহিঁ গই পইঠা ॥ [২]
 অকট করুণ ডমরুলি বাজঅ ।
 আজদেব নিরাসে রাজঅ ॥ [৪]
 চান্দরে চান্দকান্তি জিম পড়িভাসঅ ।
 চিঅ বিকরণে তহি টলি পইসঅ ॥ [৬]
 ছাড়িঅ ভয় ঘিণ লোআচার ।
 চাহন্তে চাহন্তে স্থণ বিআর ॥ [৮]
 আজদেবেঁ সঅল বিহরিউ ।
 ভয় ঘিণ দুৱ গিবারিউ ॥ [১০]

Rāga Paṭamañjarī ; Āryadevapādānām—

jahi maṇa india parava hoi ṇaṭhā ।
ṇa jānami apā kahẏ.gai paiṭhā ॥ [2]
akata karuṇa ḍamaruli vājāa ।
Ājadeva niraṣe rājāa ॥ [4]
cāndare cāndakānti jima paḍibhāsaa ।
cīa vikaraṇe tahi ṭali paṣṣaa ॥ [6]
chāḍia bhaya ghaṇa loācāra ।
cāhante cāhante suṇa viāra ॥ [8]
Ājadevẏ saala vihariu ।
bhaya ghaṇa dura nivāriu ॥ [10]

1. ṇa ṭhā; 4. rājai; 5. paṭibhāsaa; 6. paṣṣaṣ.

XXXII

রাগ দেশাখ—সরহপাদানাম—

নাদ ন বিন্দু ন রবি শশিমণ্ডল ।
 চিঅরাঅ সহাবে মুকল ॥ [২]
 উজু রে উজু ছাড়ি মা লেহুরে বন্ধ ।
 নিঅড়ি বোহি মা জাহুরে লাক ॥ [৪]
 হাথের কাক্ষণ মা লেউ দাপণ ।
 অপণে অপা বুঝতু নিঅমণ ॥ [৬]
 পার উআরেঁ সোই মজিই ।
 দুজ্জণ সঙ্গে অবসরি জাই ॥ [৮]
 বাম দাহিণ জো খাল বিখলা ।
 সরহ ভণই বাপা উজুবাট ভইলা ॥ [১০]

Rāga Deśākha ; Sarahapādānām—

nāda na bindu na ravi śaśimaṇḍala ।
ciarāa sahāve mukala ॥ [2]
uju re uju chāḍi mā lehure vaṇka ।
niāḍi bohi mā jāhure lāṅka [4]
hāthera kāṅkaṇa mā leū dāpaṇa ।
apaṇe apā bujhatu niamaṇa ॥ [6]
pāra uārē soī majiī ।
dujjāṇa saṅge avasari jāī ॥ [8]
vāma dāhiṇa jo khāla vikhālā ।
Saraha bhaṇaī bāpā ujuvāṭa bhaīlā ॥ [10]

4. *niahi* ; 5. *hāthere* ; *kāṅkaṇa*. *loū* ; 7. *gajiī* ; 8. *sāṅge* ,
 10. *bhāīlā*.

XXXIII

রাগ পটমঞ্জরী—চেণ্ডণপাদানাম্—

টালত মোর ঘর নাহি পড়িবেশী ।
 হাড়ীত ভাত নাহি নিতি আবেশী ॥ [২]
 বেঙ্গস সাপ বড়হিল জাঅ ।
 দুহিল দুধু কি বেণ্টে সমাঅ ॥ [৪]
 বলদ বিআঅল গবিআ বাঁঝে ।
 পিটা দুহিঅই এ তিনা সাঁঝে ॥ [৬]
 জো সো বুধী সো ধনি বুধী ।
 জো সো চোর সোই সাধী ॥ [৮]
 নিতি নিতি সআলা সিহে সম জুঝাঅ ।
 চেণ্ডণ পাএর গীত বিরলে বুঝাঅ ॥ [১০]

Rāga Paṭamañjarī ; Dheṇḍhaṇapādānām—

ṭālata mora ghara nāhi paḍiveśī ।
hāḍīta bhāta nāhi niti āveśī ॥ [2]
veṅgasa sāpa vadhila jāa ।
duhila dudhu ki beṅṭe samāa ॥ [4]
valada viāala gaviā bẏjhe ।
piṭā duhiaẏ e tinā sẏjhe ॥ [6]
jo so budhī so dhani budhī ।
jo so cora soẏ sādhi ॥ [8]
niti niti siālā sihe sama jujhaa ।
Dheṇḍhaṇa pāēra gīta virale bujhaa [10]

1. *paḍaveśī* ; 3. *vege*, *S. veṅga* ; *saṁsāra*(for *saṁāpa*) ; 4. *sāmayā*
 6. *duhie* ; 8. *šo caura* ; 9. *ṣiālā*, *sihe*, *ṣama*.

XXXIV

রাগ বরাড়ী—দারিকপাদানাম্—

শুন করুণ রে অভিনচারেঁ কাঁবাক্চিএ ।
 বিলসই দারিক গঅণত পারিমকুলেঁ ॥ [২]
 অলক্খ লক্খই চিএ মহাসুহেঁ ।
 বিলসই দারিক গঅণত পারিমকুলেঁ ॥ [৪]
 কিস্তো মন্তে কিস্তো তন্তে কিস্তো রে বাণবখাণে ।
 অপইঠান মহাসুহলীলৈঁ ছলক্খ পরমনিবাণে ॥ [৬]
 দুঃখৈঁ সুখৈঁ একু করিআ ভুঞ্জই ইন্দীজানী ।
 স্বপরাপর ন চেবই দারিক সঅলানুত্তর মাণী ॥ [৮]
 রাআ রাআ রাআরে অবর রাআ মোহে রে বাধা ।
 লুই-পাঅ-পএ দারিক দ্বাদশভুঅণে লাধা ॥ [১০]

Rāga Varāḍī ; Dārikapādānām—

sunā karuṇa re abhinacārē kāvākcīē ।
vilasāi Dārika gaanata pārimakulē ॥ [২]
alakkha lakkhaī ciē mahāsuhē ।
vilasāi Dārika gaanata pārimakulē ॥ [৪]
kinto mante kinto tante kinto re jhāṇavakhāṇe ।
apaṭṭhāna mahāsuhalilē dulaḥkha paramanivāṇē ॥ [৬]
duḥkhē sukhē eku kariā bhuñjaī indijānī ।
svaparāpara na cevaī Dārika saalānuttara māṇī ॥ [৮]
rāā rāā rāāre avara rāā mohe re bādā ।
Luī-pāa-paē Dārika dvādaśabhuaṇe lādā ॥ [১০]

1. karuṇari, vārē, kāvākcīa ; 3. alakṣalakhacittā mahāsuhe ;
 6. mahāsuhalīṇe dulaḥkha ; 7. indijānī. 9. moherā.

XXXV

রাগ মল্লারী—ভাদেপাদানাম্—

এতকাল হাঁউ অচ্ছিল স্বমোহেঁ ।
 এবঁ মই বুঝিল সদগুরুবোহেঁ ॥ [২]
 এবঁ চিঅরাঅ মোকু গঠা ।
 গঅণসমুদে টলিআ পইঠা ॥ [৪]
 পেখমি দহদিহ সৰ্বই শূন ।
 চিঅ বিহুনে পাঁপ ন পুন্ন ॥ [৬]
 বাজুলে দিল মো লকখু ভণিআ ।
 মই অহারিল গঅণত পণিআ ॥ [৮]
 ভাদে ভণই অভাগে লইলা ।
 চিঅরাঅ মই অহার কএলা ॥ [১০]

Rāga Mallārī ; Bhādepādānām—

etakāla hēu acchila svamohē ।
evē mai bujhila sadgurubohē ॥ [2]
evē ciarāa moku ṇaṭhā ।
gaṇasamude ṭaliā paṭṭhā ॥ [4]
pekhami dahadiha sarvaī śūna ।
cia vihunne pāpa na punna ॥ [6]
vājule dila mo lakkhu bhaṇiā ।
maī ahārila gaṇata paṇiā ॥ [8]
Bhāde bhaṇaī abhāge laiṭā ।
ciarāa maī ahāra kaēlā ॥ [10]

1. *acchilē* ; 2. *maku na ṭhā* ; 4. *gaṇa-samude* ; 7. *mohakakhu* ;
 9. *laiṭā*.

XXXVI

রাগ পটমঞ্জরী—কৃষ্ণাচার্য্যপাদানাম—

সুণ বাহ তথতা পহারী ।

মোহ ভণ্ডার লই সঅলা অহারী ॥ [২]

ঘুমই ণ চেবই সগরবিভাগা ।

সহজ নিদালু কাহিলা লাঙ্গা ॥ [৪]

চেঅণ ন বেঅন ভর নিদ গেলা ।

সঅল মুকল করি স্তহে স্ততেলা ॥ [৬]

স্বপণে মই দেখিল তিহুবণ স্তণ ।

ঘোলিআ অবণাগমণ বিহুণ ॥ [৮]

শাখি করিব জালন্ধরি পাএ ।

পাখি ন চাহই মোরি পাণ্ডিআচাএ ॥ [১০]

Rāga Paṭamañjarī ; Kṛṣṇācāryapādānām—

suṇa bāha tathatā pahārī ।

moha bhaṇḍāra lai saalā ahārī ॥ [2]

ghumaī ṇa cevaī saparavibhāgā ।

sahaja-nidālu Kāhnilā lāṅgā ॥ [4]

ceana na veana bhara nida gelā ।

saala mukala kari suhe sutelā ॥ [6]

svapaṇe maī dekhila tihuvaṇa suṇa ।

gholiā avaṇāgamaṇa-vihuṇa ॥ [8]

śākhi kariba jālandhari pāe ।

pākhi ṇa cāhai mori pāṇḍiācāē ॥ [10]

2. lui for lai ; 6. suphala for mukala ; 8. ghoria, vihala for vihuṇa ; 9. śāthi, pātra for pāe ; 10. rāhaa for cāhai, pāṇḍiācāde.

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রাগ কামোদ—তাড়কপাদানাম্—

অপণে নাহিঁ সো কাহেরি শঙ্কা ।
 তা মহামুদেৱী টুটি গেলি কংখা ॥ [২]
 অনুভব সহজ মা ভোলরে জোই ।
 চৌকোটী বিমুকা জইসো তইসো হোই ॥ [৪]
 জইসনে ইছিলেসি তইসন অছ ।
 সহজ পথক জোই ভাস্তি নাহি বাস ॥ [৬]
 বাণ্ড কুরুণ্ড সন্তারে জাগী ।
 বাকপথাতিত কাঁহি বখানী ॥ [৮]
 ভণই তাড়ক এথু নাহি অবকাশ ।
 জো বুঝই তা গলে গলপাস ॥ [১০]

Rāga Kāmōda ; Tāḍakapādānām—

apane nāhī so kāheri śāṅkā ।
tā mahāmuderī ṭuṭi geli kaṅkhā ॥ [2]
anubhava sahaja mā bholare joī ।
caūkoṭṭi vimukā jāiso tāiso hoī ॥ [4]
jāisane ichilesi tāisana acha ।
sahaja pathaka joī bhānti nāhi vāsa ॥ [6]
bāṇḍa kurunḍa santāre jānī ।
vākpathātīta kẏhi vakhānī ॥ [8]
bhaṇāī Tāḍaka ethu nāhī avakāśa ।
jo bujhaī tā gale galapāsa ॥ [10]

2. kaṁthā ; 3. joī ; 5. accha ; 6. māho vāsa ; 7. bāṇḍakuru.

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রাগ ভৈরবী—সরহপাদানাম্—

কাঅ গাবড়ি খাণ্টি মণ কেডুআল ।
 সদগুরু বঅণে ধর পতবাল ॥ [২]
 চীঅ থির করি ধরছরে নাই ।
 আন উপায়ে পার ণ জাই ॥ [৪]
 নোবাহী নোকা টাণঅ গুণে ।
 মেলি মেলি সহজে জাউ ণ আণে ॥ [৬]
 ঝাটত ভঅ খাণ্টি বি বলআ ।
 ভব উলোলৈ সব বি বোলিআ ॥ [৮]
 কুল লই খরে সোন্তে উজাঅ ।
 সরহ ভণই গঅণে সমাঅ ॥ [১০]

Rāga Bhairavī ; Sarahapādānām—

kāa ṇāvaḍi khāṇṭi maṇa keḍuāla ।
sadguru vaane dhara patavāla ॥ [2]
cīa thira kari dharahure nāi ।
āṇa upāye pāra ṇa jāi ॥ [4]
nauvāhī naukā ṭāṇaa guṇe ।
meli meli sahajē jāu ṇa āṇē ॥ [6]
vāṭata bhaa khāṇṭa vi balaā ।
bhava ulolē sava vi bolīā ॥ [8]
kula lai khare sontē ujāa ।
Saraha bhaṇai gaṇe samāa ॥ [10]

3. *dhahure nāhī* ; 4. *ana* ; 5. *ṭāṇa* ; 6. *meli mela* ; 7. *vāṭa abhaā khāṭa* ; 8. *ṣaa vi for sava vi* ; 10. *gaṇe pamāē*.

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রাগ মালশী—সরহপাদানাম—

সুইণেঁ হো বিদারিঅ রে নিঅমন তোহোর দোসে ।
 গুরুবঅণ বিহারেঁ রে থাকিব তই যুগু কইসে ॥ [-.]
 অকট হু ভবই গঅণ ।
 বস্ত্রে জায়া নিলেসি পরে ভাগেল তোহোর বিণাণ ॥ [৪]
 অদভুঅ ভবমোহরে দিসই পর অপ্ণাণ ।
 এ জগ জলবিস্মাকারে সহজেঁ স্মণ অপণা ॥ [৬]
 অমিআ অচ্ছন্তেঁ বিস গিলেসি রে চিঅ পরবস অপা ।
 ঘরেঁ পরেঁ কা বুঝিলে মাঝি খাইব মই দুঠ কুণ্ডবাঁ ॥ [৮]
 সরহ ভগন্তি বর স্মণ গোহালী কি মো দুঠ বলন্দেঁ ।
 একেলে জগ নাশিঅ রে বিহরহু ছন্দেঁ ॥ [১০]

Rāga Mālaśī ; Sarahapādānām—

suiṇē ho vidāria re niamana tohora dose ।
guruvaana viharē re thakiba tāi ghuṇḍa kaiṣe ॥ [2]
akāṭa hu bhavaī gaṇā ।
vaṅge jāyā nilesi parē bhāgela tohora viṇāṇā ॥ [4]
adabhua bhavamohare disāi para appaṇā ।
e jaga jalavimbākāre sahaṇjē suṇa apaṇā ॥ [6]
amiā acchantē visa gilesi re cia paravasa apā ।
gharē parē kā bujhjhile māri khāība māi duṭha kuṇḍabẓ ॥ [8]
Saraha bhaṇanti vara suṇa gohālī ki mo duṭha valandē ।
ekele jaga nāśia re viharahu chandē ॥ [10]

1. *suiṇā ha avidāra are, tohorē* ; 3. *bhavai aṇā* ; 5. *adaabhua, mohāro, apyāṇā* ; 7. *amiyā, pasara vāsa apā* ; 8. *ghārē parē, mare,* 9. *duṭhya* ; 10. *virahu ī cchandrē.*

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রাগ মালসী গবুড়া—কাহ্নুপাদানাম—

জো মগগোঅর আলা জালা ।

আগম পোথা ইষ্টামালা ॥ [২]

ভণ কইদেঁ সহজ বোল বা জাঅ ।

কাঅবাক্চিঅ জহ্ন ৭ সমাঅ ॥ [৪]

আলে গুরু উএসই সীস ।

বাক্পথাতিত কহিব কীস ॥ [৬]

জে তেঁই বোলা তে তবি টাল ।

গুরু বোব সে সীসা কাল ॥ [৮]

ভণই কাহ্নু জিণ রঅণ বি কইসা ।

কালে বোব সংবোহিঅ জইসা ॥ [১০]

Rāga Mālasī Garudā ; Kāhnupādānām—

jo maṇagoara ālā jālā ।

āgama pothī iṣṭāmālā ॥ [2]

bhaṇa kaṁsē sahaja bola vā jāa ।

kāavākcia jasū ṇa samāa ॥ [4]

āle guru uēsaī sīsā ।

vākpathātīta kaḥiba kīsā ॥ [6]

je tēi bolī te tavi ṭāla ।

guru boba se sīsā kāla ॥ [8]

bhaṇaī Kāhnu jiṇa raṇa vi kaṁsā ।

kāle boba sambohia jaīsā ॥ [10]

1. goera ; 3. jāya ; 4. samāya ; 6. kāhiba ; 7. je taī ;
8. gurubodhase ; 9. vikaśāsā.

রাগ কহু গুঞ্জরী—ভুসুকুপাদানাম—

আইএ অনুঅনাএঁ জগরে ভন্তিএঁ সো পড়িহাই ।
 রাজসাপ দেখি জো চমকিই সঁচে কি ত বোড়ো খাই ॥ [২]
 অকট জোইআরে মা কর হাথ লোহা ।
 আইস সভাবেঁ জই জগ বুঝসি তুটই বাসনা তোর । [৪]
 মরুমরীচিগন্ধনঅরী দাপণ-পড়িবিসু জইসা ।
 বাতাবত্তেঁ সো দিঢ় ভইআ অপেঁ পাথর জইসা ॥ [৬]
 বান্ধিসুআ জিম কেলি করই খেলই বহুবিহ খেলা ।
 বালুআ তেলৈঁ সসসিংগে আকাশ ফুলিলা ॥ [৮]
 রাউতু ভণই কট ভুসুকু ভণই কট সঅলা আইস সহাবা ।
 জই তো মুঢ়া অচ্ছসি ভাস্তী পুচ্ছতু সদগুরু পাবা ॥ [১০]

Rāga Kahnu Guñjarī; Bhusukupādānām—

āie aṇuanāē jagare bhantiē so paḍihāi ।
rājasāpa dekhi jo camakiī sāce ki ta boḍo khāi ॥ [২]
akaṭa joīāre mā kara hātha lohnā ।
āisa sabhāvē jāi jaga bujhasi tuṭai vāsanā torā ॥ [৪]
maru-marīci-gandha-ṇārī dāpaṇa-paḍibimbu jāisā ।
vātāvattē so diḍha bhaīā apē pāthara jāisā ॥ [৬]
bāndhisuā jima keli karāi khelai bahuviha khelā ।
vāluā telē sasasiṅge ākāśa phulilā ॥ [৮]
Rāūtu bhaṇai kaṭa Bhusuku bhaṇai kaṭa saalā āisa sahābā ।
jai to mūḍhā acchasi bhānti pucchatu sadguru pābā ॥ [১০]

1. bhānti ēso; . ṣāre for sāce; kim tam;
4. bujhasi; tuṭa; vāṣaṇā; 5. gandhanairīdāpati—
6. diṭa; 7. bēddhi—; khedā; 8. sasarasīṅge; 9-10. sahāba, pābā;

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রাগ কামোদ—কাহ্নপাদানাম্—

চিঅ সহজে শূণ সংপুন্ন।
 কান্ধবিয়োএঁ মা হোহি বিসন্ন ॥ [২]
 ভণ কইসে কাহ্ন নাহি।
 ফরই অনুদিন তিলোএ সমাই ॥ [৪]
 মূঢ়া দিঠ নাঠ দেখি কাঅর।
 ভাঙ্গ তরঙ্গ কি সোষই সাঅর ॥ [৬]
 মূঢ়া অচ্ছন্তে লোঅ ন পেখই।
 দুধ মাঝেঁ লড় অচ্ছন্তে ন দেখই ॥ [৮]
 ভব জাই ৭ আবই ৭ এথু কোই।
 অইস ভাবে বিলসই কাহ্নিল জোই ॥ [১০]

Rāga Kāmōda; Kāhnupādānām—

cia sahaje śūṇa saṁpunnā ।
kāndha-viayoṣ mā hohi visannā ॥ [2]
bhaṇa Kaīse kāhnu nāhi ।
pharaī anudina tiloṣ samāī ॥ [4]
mūḍhā diṭha nāṭha dekhi kāara ।
bhāṅga taraṅga ki soṣaī sāara ॥ [6]
mūḍhā acchante loa na pekhaī ।
dudha mājhē laḍa acchante na dekhaī ॥ [8]
bhava jāī ṇa āvaī ṇa ethu koī ।
aīsa bhāve vilasaī Kāhnila joī ॥ [10]

4. *anudinam, tailoe; pamāi*; 6. *bhāga*;
 8. *nacehamtē dekhaī*; 9. *esu koī*; 10. *āisa*;

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রাগ বঙ্গাল—ভুসুকুনাদানাম্—

সহজ মহাতরু ফরিঅএ তেলোএ ।
 খসমসভাবে রে বাণত মুকা কোএ ॥ [২]
 জিম জলে পাণিআ টলিআ ভেউ ন জাঅ ।
 তিম মণ-রঅণা সমরসে গঅণ সমাঅ ॥ [৪]
 জাসু নাই অপ্পা তাসু পরেলা কাহি ।
 আই-অণুঅণা রে জাম মরণ ভাব নাই ॥ [৬]
 ভুসুকু ভণই কট রাউতু ভণই কট সঅনা এহ সহাব ।
 জাই ন আবই রে ণ তহিঁ ভাবাভাব ॥ [৮]

Rāga Baṅgāla ; Bhusukupādānām—

sahaja mahātaru phariaē teloē ।
khasamasabhāve re bāṇata mukā koē ॥ [২]
jīma jale pāṇiā ṭaliā bheū na jāa ।
tīma maṇa-raaṇā samarase gaṇa samāa ॥ [৪]
jāsu nāhi appā tāsu parelā kāhi ।
āi-aṇuaṇā re jāma maraṇa bhāva nāhi । [৬]
Bhusuku bhaṇai kaṭa Rāūtu bhaṇai kaṭa saalā eha sahāva ।
jāi na āvai re ṇa tahī bhāvābhāva ॥ [৮]

2. *bāṇato kā koē*; 3. *bheḍa*; 4. *marāṇa aṇā*;
5. *jatpuṇāhi adhyātā svaparelā—*; 6. *bhava*;
8. *āvayī*; *taṁhi*;

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রাগ মল্লারী—কৌঙ্কণপাদানাম—

সুনে সুন মিলিআ জবৈঁ ।
 সঅলধাম উইআ তবৈঁ ॥ [২]
 আচ্ছহঁ চউখণ সংবোহী ।
 মাঝ নিরোহ অণুত্তর বোহী ॥ [৪]
 বিন্দুগাদ ৭ হিঁএ পইঠা ।
 আণ চাহন্তে আণ বিণঠা ॥ [৬]
 জথা আইলেসি তথা জান ।
 মাঝ থাকী সঅল বিহাণ ॥ [৮]
 ভগই কঙ্কণ কলঅল সাদৈঁ ।
 সর্ব বি স্থনিল তথতা নাদৈঁ ॥ [১০]

Rāga Mallārī; Kauṅkaṇapādānām—

sune suna miliā jabē ।
saaladhāma ūiā tabē ॥ [2]
acchahū caūkhana sambohī ।
mājha niroha anuttara bohī ॥ [4]
binduṇāda ṇa hē paīṭhā ।
āṇa cāhante āṇa viṇaṭhā ॥ [6]
jathā āilesi tathā jāna ।
mājhā thāki saala vihāṇa ॥ [8]
bhaṇai Kaṅkaṇa kalaala-sādē ।
sarvva vi sunila tathatā nādē ॥ [10]

5. *biduṇāda, ṇahē*; 6. *āṇa*; 7. *jathā ālēsi*;
 ৮. *māsam*; 10. *viccharīla* for *vi sunila*; *tadhatā*.

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রাগ মল্লারী—কাহ্নুপাদানাম্—

মণ তরু পাঞ্চ ইন্দি তসু সাহা ।
 আসা বহল পাতি ফল বাহা ॥ [২]
 বরগুরুবঅণে কুঠারেঁ ছিজঅ ।
 কাহ্ন ভণই তরু পুণ ন উইজঅ ॥ [৪]
 বাঢ়ই সো তরু সুভাস্তভ পাণী ।
 ছেবই বিদুজন গুরুপরিমাণী ॥ [৬]
 জো তরু ছেবই ভেউ ন জাণই ।
 সড়ি প ড়াঁ রে মূঢ় তা ভব মাণই ॥ [৮]
 সুগতরুবর গঅণ কুঠার ।
 ছেবহ সো তরু মূল ন ডাল ॥ [১০]

Rāga Mallārī ; Kāhnupādānām—

maṇataru pāñca indi tasu sāhā ।
āsā bahala pāta phala bāhā ॥ [২]
varaguruvaane kuṭhārē cchijaa ।
Kāhna bhaṇai taru puṇa na uṇjāa ॥ [৪]
vāḍhai so taru subhāsubha pāṇī ।
cchevai vidujana guruparimāṇī ॥ [৬]
jo taru chebai bheū na jāṇai ।
saḍi paḍiṣ re mūḍha tā bhava māṇai ॥ [৮]
suṇataruvara gaṇa kuṭhāra ।
chebaha so taru mūla na ḍāla ॥ [১০]

1. phalaha bāhā; 5. vāṭai; 9. suṇa taru;

XLVI

রাগ শবরী—জয়নন্দীপাদানাম্—

পেখু সুঅণে অদশ জইসা ।
 অন্তরালে মোহ তইসা ॥ [২]
 মোহবিমুক্তা জই মণা ।
 তবেঁ টুটই অবণাগমণা ॥ [৪]
 নউ দাঢ়ই নউ তিমই ন চিহ্নজই ।
 পেখ লোঅ মোহে বলি বলি বাঝই ॥ [৬]
 ছাআ মাআ কাঅ সমাণা ।
 বেণি পাখৈঁ সোই বিণাণা ॥ [৮]
 চিঅ তথতাস্বভাবে সোহই ।
 ভণই জঅনন্দি ফুড় অণ ৭ হোই ॥ [১০]

Rāga Śabarī; Jayanandīpādānām—

*pekhu suṇe adaśa jaīsā ।
 antarāle moha taīsā ॥ [2]
 mohavimukkā jaī maṇā ।
 tabē tutaī avanāgamaṇā ॥ [4]
 naū dāḍhaī naū timaī na cchiḥjaī ।
 pekha loa mohe bali bali bājhaī ॥ [6]
 chāā māā kāa samāṇā ।
 beṇi pākḥē soī viṇāṇā ॥ [8]
 cia tathatāsvabhāve sohaī ।
 bhaṇāī Jaanandi phuḍa aṇa ṇa hoī ॥ [10]*

5. nau dāṭaī nau; 6. moa for loa;
 8. viṇā for viṇāṇā; 9. ṣohia;

XLVII

রাগ গুর্জরী—ধামপাদানাম—

কমলকুলিশ-মাবোঁ ভমই লেলী ।
 সমতাজোঁ জলিল চণ্ডালী ॥ [২]
 ডাহ ডোম্বীঘরে লাগেলি আগি ।
 সসহর লই সিঞ্চহুঁ পাণী ॥ [৪]
 নউ খর জালা ধূম ন দিসই ।
 মেরু শিখর লই গঅণ পইসই ॥ [৬]
 দাঢ়ই হরিহর বান্ধণ নাড়া ।
 দাঢ়ই ঐবগুণ শাসন পাড়া ॥ [৮]
 ভণই ধাম ফুড লেহুরে জাণী ।
 পঞ্চনালোঁ উঠে গেল পাণী ॥ [১০]

Rāga Gurjari; Dhāmapādānām—

kamalakuliśa-mājhē bhamāi lelī ।
samatājoē jalila caṇḍālī ॥ [2]
dāha ḍombī-ghare lāgeli āgi ।
saṣahara lai siñcahū pāṇī ॥ [4]
naū khara jālā dhūma'na disai ।
meru śikhara lai gaṇa paṣai ॥ [6]
dādhai harihara bāhmaṇa nādā ।
dādhai ṇavagaṇa śāsana pādā ॥ [8]
bhaṇai Dhāma phuḍa lehurē jāṇī ।
pañcanālē uthe gela pāṇī ॥ [10]

1. *bhaīma mialī*; 4. *saha ṣali*; *ṣiñca hū*;
7. *phātai* for *dādhai*; *bāmha bharā*;
8. *phīṭā hai* for *dādhai*; *padā*; 9. *leṅgure*;

XLIX

রাগ মল্লারী—ভুসুকুপদানাম্—

রাজ নাব পাড়ী পঁউআ খালেঁ বাহিউ ।
 অদঅ বঙ্গালে ক্লেস লুড়িউ ॥ [২]
 আজি ভুসু বঙ্গালী ভইলী ।
 গিঅ ঘরিণী চঙালী লেলী ॥ [৪]
 ডহি জো পঞ্চপাটণ ইংদিবিসআ গঠা ।
 গ জানমি চিঅ মোর কহিঁ গই পইঠা ॥ [৬]
 সোণত রুঅ মোর কিম্পি গ থাকিউ ।
 নিঅ পরিবারে মহাসুহে থাকিউ ॥ [৮]
 চউকোড়ি ভাণ্ডার মোর লইআ সেস ।
 জীবন্তে মইলেঁ নাই বিশেষ ॥ [১০]

Rāga Mallārī; Bhusukupādānām—

rāja nāva pādī pāñā khālē bāhiū ।
adaa baṅgāle kleśa luḍiū ॥ [2]
āji Bhusu baṅgālī bhailī ।
ñia gharinī caṇḍālī lelī ॥ [4]
ḍahi jo pañcapātana imdivisā ṇaṭhā ।
ṇa jānami cia mora kahē gaī paīṭhā ॥ [6]
soṇata rua mora kimpī ṇa thākiu ।
nia parivāre mahāsuhe thākiu ॥ [8]
caūkoḍi bhaṇḍāra mora laiū sesa ।
jīvante mailē nāhi viśeṣa ॥ [10]

1. *vāja nāva*; 5. *pañcadhāṭa ṇaī divi samjñā ṇaṭhā*;
7. *soṇa tarua*;

L

রাগ রামক্ৰী—শবরপাদানাম—

গঅণত গঅণত তইলা বাড়ী হেঞ্চে কুরাড়ী ।
 কণ্ঠে নৈরামণি বালিকা জাগন্তে উপাড়ী ॥ [২]
 ছাড়ু ছাড়ু মাআ মোহা বিষম দুন্দোলী ।
 মহাসুহে বিলসন্তি শবরো লইআ সুগ-মেহেলী ॥ [৪]
 হেরি সে মেরি তইলা বাড়ী খসমে সমতুলা ।
 সুকড় এসে রে কপাসু ফুটিলা ॥ [৬]
 তইলা বাড়ির পাসের জোহা বাড়ী উএলা ।
 ফিটেলি অন্ধারি রে আকাশ ফুলিআ ॥ [৮]
 কঙ্গুরি পাকেলা রে শবরাশবরী মাতেলা ।
 অণুদিন শবরো কিম্পি ন চেবই মহাসুহেঁ ভোলা ॥ [১০]
 চারিপাসেঁ ছাইলারে দিআ চঞ্চালী ।
 তহিঁ তোলি শবরো ডাহ কএলা কান্দই সগুণ শিআলী ॥ [১২]
 মারিল ভবমত্তারে দহদিহে দিধলী বলী ।
 হের সে সবার নিরেবণ ভইলা ফিটিল সবরালী ॥ [১৪]

Rāga Rāmakrī; Śabarapādānām—

gaṇata gaṇata tāilā bādī heñce kurādī ।
kaṇṭhe nairāmaṇi bālikā jāgante upādī ॥ [২]
chāḍu chāḍu mājā mohā viṣama dundolī ।
mahāsuhe vilasanti Śabaro laīa suṇa-mehelī ॥ [৪]
heri se meri tāilā bādī khasame samatulā ।
sukara ese re kapāsu phuṭilā ॥ [৬]
tāilā bādīra pāsēra jōhnā bādī uēlā ।
phuṭeli andhāri re ākāśa phulīā ॥ [৮]

kaṅguri pākelā re Sabarāsabarī mātēlā |
aṇudina Sabaro kimpī na cevaī mahāsuhē bholā || [10]
cāripāsē chāīlāre diā cañcālī |
tahṛ toli Sabaro ḍāha kaṣṭhā kāndaī saguṇa śīālī || [12]
mārila bhavamattāre dahadihe didhalī balī |
hera re Sabara nirevaṇe bhāīlā phitīla sabarālī || [14]

1. bādhī ; 2. bālī ; 3. chāḍu chāḍa ; viṣame ;
4. suṇa mehelī ; 5. ṣe ; 6. ṣukaḍae sere ;
7. taelā for uēlā ; 11. cāribāse bhāīlarē diṣ ;
12. hakaēlā for ḍāha kaṣṭhā ; kāndaśu ,
13. didha libālī ; 14. he rase sabaro ; phitīli ṣabarālī ;

CURRENCY PROBLEMS OF ANCIENT INDIA

BY

SURENDRAKISHOR CHAKRABORTTY, M.A., PH.D.

LECTURE I

THE EVOLUTION OF COINAGE AND THE CHOICE OF METALS

“It is correct to say that, in general, numismatists have shown themselves excellent archæologists and historians, but that they have given little attention to the economic laws of money.”¹ This statement is particularly applicable to India. Numismatics is not only a very important source of information to Ancient Indian History, but sometimes, it is the main source, for certain periods of political history, *e.g.*, those of the Indo-Greeks, the Indo-Scythians, the Indo-Parthians and some of the Kushana and Western Kshatrapa rulers. When discussing the Administrative History, Historical Geography and the Religious History of this country, we have to refer to Numismatics for the most authentic data; and in Palæography our debt is immense, especially in the decipherment of the Kharoshthī alphabet. The economic principles, however, underlying all kinds of money are of universal application; and their operation is not confined to any particular country or period. The study of the coins, not looked upon as historical or literary documents, but as records in the development of exchange of a gradually expanding community which passed through different stages of evolution from nomadic to highly developed economic life, cannot but be a matter of absorbing interest to us. The Indians of old were confronted by some of the difficulties that are inherent in the stage of money economy, *e.g.*, the problem of metallic ratios, the choice of metals, manufacture, debasement, etc.; and how they grappled with the problems cannot but be a matter of concern to

¹ Babelon—*Les Origines de la monnaie*, p. viii.

us, as a proper appreciation is necessary to visualise the economic life, specially the internal and external trade-movements of the ancient world.

Exchange in the modern sense of the word was not needed in the early forms of civilisation, when the unit of society was the family or the tribe, small and self-contained, and in the hunting or mainly, nomadic stage. As a matter of fact, exchange was at first inter-tribal rather than local. When two friendly tribes came into contact with each other, the opportunity arose for exchanging mutual gifts, sometimes of a conciliatory nature and advantageous to both the parties. When the nomadic tribes settled down to agriculture in fixed localities, the resultant growth in the size of the communities, and the division of labour which it necessitated, made it absolutely imperative to recourse to the exchange of the different products and it "became wider and more universal"² as the society progressed from the village to the higher political organisations. Barter, thus, is "the simplest and the most direct method of exchanging goods from one man to another to their mutual advantage."³

In India, as elsewhere, Barter emerges at an early stage of the primitive society. An indirect proof of this statement is supplied to us in a peculiar way. A tolerably well-preserved building, dating from the Chalcolithic Age had been excavated at Harappa. "Its plan and the shape of the chambers,"² in the words of Sir John Marshall, "recall to mind the storerooms of the Cretan palaces and it may well be that the building at Harappa was designed for a like purpose; for the days before the introduction of metallic currency when taxes were paid in kind and trade was done by direct barter, accommodation for the storing of merchandise on a large scale must have been indispensable." In the R̥gvedic Age, movable property changed hands by gift or sale, mainly through barter. The practice continued extensively even when coins had come into use. In the

² Todd, J. A.—The Mechanism of Exchange, p. 8.

³ Macdonald, G.—Evolution of Coinage, p. 1.

Buddhist Jātakas, "Barter emerges in certain contingencies as, *e.g.*, when a wanderer obtains a meal from a woodlander for a gold pin, or when among humble folk a dog is bought for a *kaḥāpaṇa* (*Kārshāpaṇa*) plus a cloak. Barter was also permitted in special commodities by the law books ascribed to Gautama and Vasishṭha, and was prescribed in certain cases for the *sangha*, to whom the use of money was forbidden."⁴ In Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, we have many references to barter. It is one of the duties of the Superintendent of Store-House (*Koshtāgāra*), to supervise the accounts of *parivartana* (or barter) on behalf of the monarch,⁵ and *parivartana* is defined as "Profitable exchange of grains for grains."⁶ The Superintendent of Commerce is enjoined "to consider whether any local produce can be profitably bartered for any foreign produce,"⁷ and he is also to gather information as to the "value of foreign merchandise that can be obtained in barter for local merchandise."⁸ In the case of gems and commodities of superior or inferior value, it was the duty of the Superintendent of Accounts to keep full information about "the rate of their barter." There can be absolutely no doubt, therefore, that the system of barter continued throughout the ages, side by side with other better methods of exchange. Even now in the 20th century, we have not been able to free ourselves completely from its grip. It is pointed out by Mr. Sarkar that barter is prevalent to a large extent in the Mofussil of the Twenty-four Parganas and Barisal. "Teachers' salaries, ferry services, etc., are paid in paddy." The same practice is noticeable in Mymensingh, Vikrampur and other parts of the province. Among the Gāros, the Chakmās and other hill-tribes, "money economy is almost nil," while in the *char*-lands money is needed mainly for paying rents. The recent economic depression has rather furthered barter at the expense of money-economy, and it is certainly

⁴ The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 217.

⁵ Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (Shamaśāstry, 1915), p. 112.

⁶ Do. Do. p. 113.

⁷ Do. Do. p. 120.

⁸ Do. Do. p. 120.

true that the currency circulation in India is "too small in comparison with the amount of foreign and internal trade," and people have therefore to recourse to barter as an auxiliary.⁹ Even the advanced countries of the West, have not been able to shake off the practice; "the money economy has made barter easier rather than harder." In U. S. A., "barter of various kinds, of live-stock, of grain and hay, of fresh and cured meat, and of labor, is an important feature in rural life in many sections." Much of agricultural rent in the South is still paid in kind, under the "share system." "Much labor, especially farm and domestic labor, is still paid for partly in kind."¹⁰ It is thus a "highly convenient and very important feature of the most developed commercial system,"¹¹ of the present day.

The inconveniences of barter are well-known. These are due to the lack of coincidence and the indivisibility of ordinary goods. It can be proved from historical evidence that even in the early stages of barter, a standard of value had been evolved, and the articles large and small came to be computed in terms of some common standard, and this was surely the most desirable and the most saleable article for the particular people at a given time, and is dependent upon the stage of civilisation which had been reached. While in the hunting stage, weapons and skins are used as standard, in the nomadic stage, the unit was supplied by oxen, sheep, goats or horses, and in the agricultural stage grains, houses and metals, of these gold and copper were the earliest to be adopted.

In the R̥gveda, though sale appears to have regularly consisted in barter, yet the idea of a standard of value had already emerged.¹² The selection of the cow for the purpose refers to the early nomadic stage. Ten cows were deemed to be

⁹ The Calcutta Review, October, 1936, p. 130.

¹⁰ Anderson, B. M.—The Value of Money, pp. 197, 198.

¹¹ Do. Do. p. 201.

¹² The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 97.

an inadequate price for an image of Indra. The price of the Soma plant of which the Aryans were inordinately fond was estimated in cows (VIII. 32.20). In the Brāhmaṇa period, the state of things represented in the Saṁhitā texts was continued as references to the Satapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇa would clearly prove. In the Aitareya, the cow was the most important source of wealth, and whenever the amount of wealth is referred to, it is estimated in cows. The practice of the agricultural stage, *viz.*, taking rice as the standard of value is referred to in the Jātaka books of the Buddhists (Jat. I, 124 f.).¹³ We have however reasons to believe that the measure of values and the medium of exchange at least in the later R̥gvedic period were different. In the Homeric poems of the Greeks who were also Aryans, there are clear indications that though cattle served as a measure of values, yet payments were made in gold.¹⁴ There are no traces of coined money in those poems, but references are made only to the ox or the "talent" weight—the amount of gold "which exchanged for an ox, being the metallic equivalent of the older unit."¹⁵ The oblong and round copper pieces bearing pictographic legends and symbols, found among the pre-historic antiquities at Mohen-jo-daro are surely not coins; these may be either amulets or weights. In the R̥gvedic period, the origin of currency is visualised in the frequent references to *nishkas* as gifts; the *nishka* was originally an ornament in the shape of a necklace of gold, but later on the name was transferred to a gold currency.¹⁶ But we have also to remember that in early times, the article of general desirability which served as a measure of value was ordinarily used as a medium of exchange. So we find in the Brāhmaṇas that the medium of exchange was the cow, *e.g.*, the price of Sunahśepa who was purchased from his father by King Hariścandra to be sacrificed was 100 cows.

¹³ The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 217.

¹⁴ Anderson, B. M.—The Value of Money, p. 421.

¹⁵ Laughlin, J. L.—The Principles of Money, p. 10.

¹⁶ The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 98.

Payments were also made in cows and offerings to the Brāhmaṇas and Purohitas were also in cows. Even in the Sūtra period when coins had already come into use, the cows are referred to as the fee to be paid to the priests for the celebration of the household festivals as enjoined by the Grihya-Sūtras.¹⁷

The word *nishka* had three meanings.—(1) the ornament for the neck ; (2) the currency or the medium of exchange ; and (3) the weight ; and this is the sequence, if we refer to the evolutionary processes that led to the origin of coinage. In the R̥gveda, we have the word “ Nishkagrīva,” “ having a gold ornament on the neck.” We know that a commodity which is “ universally desired for purposes of display ” generally comes to be used as a medium of exchange, and the small loss of such commodities adapts them better for currency than the more useful products like cattle or corn. The strings of haïque shells among the Red Indians of British Columbia or the wampum beads of the Indians in North America are used both as ornaments and a medium of exchange.¹⁸ The use of cowrie shells for small payments in our country, though these are no longer used as ornaments is surely a reminiscence of the old custom. “ And it is practically certain that the precious metals, also, have come into use as money only because they were first used as ornaments.¹⁹ There is no doubt that in primitive life “ ornament and money are freely interchangeable,”²⁰ and “ articles of ornament early begin to take the place of articles that minister to mere animal wants.”²¹ It is no doubt strange, but true that “ the frivolous and fanciful side of men’s nature furnishes a powerful lever for the development of both money and capital,”²²

¹⁷ Aitareya Brāhmaṇa :

Gobhila and Hiranyakeśi Grihya-Sūtras.

¹⁸ Barker, D. A.—The Theory of Money, p. 13.

Laughlin, J. L.—The Principles of Money, p. 12.

¹⁹ Barker, D. A.—The Theory of Money, p. 13.

²⁰ Anderson, B. M.—The Value of Money, p. 408.

²¹ Do. Do. p. 408.

²² Do. Do. p. 410.

and the value of the metals depends on three powerful elements of human nature, viz., “(1) love of approbation, (2) the sex impulse, and (3) the spirit of rivalry or competition.”^{22a} So it can be asserted without any hesitation that *nishka* the ornament which was at first used, merely for personal adornment, came gradually to be used as a currency, and served as a medium of exchange in lieu of cow or grains. Mr. Thomas was the first to point out the passage in the R̥gveda (I, 126.2) where “a singer celebrates the receipt of a hundred Nishkas and a hundred steeds: he could hardly require the Nishkas merely for purposes of personal adornment.”²³ Another R̥shi praises the King for giving him 4,000 *nishkas* on one occasion, and 8,000 on another²⁴ (R̥gveda, VIII, 241). In the Brāhmaṇa period also the *nishka* served as the unit of value; “and the cow as a unit was probably in course of supersession.”²⁵ The *nishka* ornament surely at first varied in size and weight but gradually with its use for currency purposes a greater approximation in weight would be attempted, and the shape also might be standardised. So it is a reasonable inference “that the *nishkas* of the Vedas had, even then, attained so much of a definite and unvarying form, and partial fashioning, as to be suitable for decorative purposes in its current shape—a deduction which would further imply that the piece itself was understood or admitted to be of a constant and uniform make and that, in effect, carried its description in its name.”²⁶ In many cases the primitive metallic currency “bore a distinct resemblance to certain articles or commodities which had formerly been in customary use as means of exchange.”²⁷ We may refer to the practice among the early Greeks who were not merely satisfied with making the metallic

^{22a} *Ibid.*

²³ Quoted by Bhandarkar from Vedic Index—The Carmichael Lectures, 1921, p. 65.

²⁴ Das, A. C.—R̥gvedic Culture, p. 140.

²⁵ The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 137.

²⁶ Thomas, F.—Ancient Indian Weights, p. 34.

²⁷ Todd, J. A.—The Mechanism of Exchange, p. 33.

pieces for currency equivalent to the ox, the older unit, but had the head of an ox impressed on them, and these metallic units "were often called oxen"²⁸ and we may also refer to the Latin word *pecunia*. It is therefore evident that the *nishkas* gradually came to have a definite shape and weight, and were perhaps fashioned as an ornament; but later on in the place of the ornament, a piece of metal equivalent to the standard weight of the *nishka* was weighed out at each transaction. At this stage of the Vedic period, the Aryans naturally advanced to the use of metals for exchange purposes, and they requisitioned ingots of various shapes. The *Hiranya-pinḍas* which are mentioned in the Vedic Literature (VI. 47.23) were surely gold globules; there is no knowing that these were always of uniform weight and circulated as mediums of exchange, but it may be reasonably surmised that they changed hands by weight.²⁹ It is only later on that the metallic pieces gradually came to conform to certain standard weights, and when coins in the modern sense of the word came into existence, the names of the early coins were taken from the weights of metal contained in them. Outside India, we may refer to talent, mina, drachma, pound, mark, livre, shilling, etc.³⁰

In India the six principal denominations of weights are *Nishka*, *Kṛshṇala*, *Suvarṇa*, *Śatamāna*, *Māshaka* and *Kārshāpaṇa*, and these are always used to denote "weights of metal or money, but never of goods."³¹ *Kauṭilya* when describing the Weights and Measures gives instructions as to the payment of silver and gold in exchange:³² evidently even after the invention of coins, metals were weighed out in exchange. Of the six weight denominations, the *Nishka* is the oldest, *Śatamāna* is mentioned in the *Taittiriya Saṁhitā* of the Black *Yajur Veda* as

²⁸ Laughlin, J. L.—*The Principles of Money*, p. 10.

²⁹ For detailed discussion—Author's book—"A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics," Chapter II.

³⁰ Laughlin, J. L.—*The Principles of Money*, p. 10.

³¹ Bhandarkar, D. R.—*The Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 62.

³² *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, p. 103.

well as in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa as the sacrificial fee to the priest. Kṛṣṇala is mentioned in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa and all these three words refer to metallic currency as well as definite weights. In each transaction, the amount of metal needed had to be weighed out with reference to the standard unit concerned, or there might be already small globules of metal of these standard weights, and these are referred to as the Hiranya-piṇḍas. But it goes without saying that any doubt about the weight of the pieces had to be tested by an appeal to the scales; and to the touch-stone, if the quality of the metal was brought under question. The etymology of Nishka has not yet been settled. Max Müller's suggestion that it should be derived from Kanishka, the Kushana Emperor, is preposterous.³³ E. Thomas traces it to the Semitic root *miscal*, 'to be weighed.' But he himself admits that the Aryans had no knowledge of the Hebrew shekel of 220 grains and the "integrity of the Indian system of weights remains altogether unaffected."³⁴ The Persian weight *miscal* is equated to 72 grains of barley corn, while our Nishka had a weight of 560 grains. But the greatest hindrance to the acceptance of the Semitic derivation is that the reference to the weight in the case of Nishka is much later in its life, and the original significance was of an ornament and not metallic weight. Rather the correct line of argument would be to refer the Semitic word to the Sanskrit Nishka when it has progressed down to its last significance, that of weight. With the progress of civilisation, the Nishka weight was surely standardised but this original unit of measurement—a big lump of gold equivalent in weight to a neck-ornament must have a value too high for purposes of exchange. It had to be based upon another unit of measurement, small and convenient enough, for the economic state of the society. In the Ancient Indian Weights as given by Manu and Yājñavalkya, a Nishka* of gold is equated to 320 ratis or approximately 560

³³ History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 331-32 and note on p. 332.

³⁴ Ancient Indian Weights (Numismata Orientalia), p. 17.

grains which is also the weight of a Satamāna of silver. Satamāna was of gold in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Satamāna is evidently 100 times the unit of measurement which is, therefore, 3·2 ratis or 5·6 grains in weight, taking the Satamāna equal to 320 ratis as given by Manu. When with the progress of society the old unit, the māna of 5·6 grains came to be deemed too heavy and a smaller unit became necessary for nicer discrimination, the smaller unit of a rati equal to 1·8 grains—the Kṛṣṇala, of which the first mention we have in the Brāhmaṇa period in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa.

The common measures in all countries “have been derived from natural objects.”³⁵ In the West, one measure of weight was supplied by the seed of a plant or carat, equivalent to $\frac{1}{24}$ of an ounce Troy.³⁶ In India the measures of weight based on seeds or beans are the Raktika, Barley-corn, the Māsha-bean, etc., and we have no doubt that the Kṛṣṇala weighs a Guñja berry, the Raktika or Rati, and the Māna may be equated to the weight of a Mañjādi.³⁷ The Suvarṇa, the Māsha and the Kārshāpaṇa were all based upon the unit of Rati and when coins were evolved, the metallic pieces carried their denominations with them. The Suvarṇa was 80 ratis of gold; a Māsha of silver only 2 ratis, of gold 5 ratis, while a Kārshāpaṇa of copper was of 80 ratis, *i.e.*, 140, 3·5, 8·75 and 140 grs. respectively, taking a rati as equivalent to 1·75 grains. Some of the civilised nations of antiquity, *e.g.*, the Egyptians, Babylonians and the Assyrians, did not proceed further. They adopted the metals as mediums of exchange, but these changed hands by weight only, and for every other commodity for sale a certain quantity of the metal was weighed out.

The next advance in the evolution of coinage was made independently in Lydia, India and China. Every transaction

³⁵ Cunningham, A.—Coins of Ancient India. p. 1.

³⁶ Laughlin, J. L.—The Principles of Money, p. 10, foot-note 4.

³⁷ For detailed discussion—Author's book—“A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics,” Chap. III.

necessitated an appeal to the balance and the touch-stone ; and the main characteristics of the coins are that they carry on their face the indisputable evidence of “ (1) their fineness, (2) their original weight, and (3) the absence of any subsequent alteration.”³⁸ The Lydians in the western extremity of Asia Minor as early as 700 B.C. issued small bean-shaped ingots of electrum with one or more punch-marks on the side, for purposes of exchange. Though the claim of the Lydians as the earliest inventors of coinage in the West is contested by the Greeks, yet the statement of Herodotus seems to be conclusive in this controversy,³⁹ for he tells us definitely that “the Lydians were the first people to strike and use gold and silver coins” (i.94). The earliest coins of Lydia were of electrum, a natural alloy of gold and silver, and the variation in the proportion of the two metals led Croesus (561 B.C.) to give it up in favour of a double system of gold and silver. In China it is claimed that coinage was “instituted by Cheng, the second king of Chou, as far back as 1091 B.C.”⁴⁰

In India, coinage was evolved long before Pāṇini, perhaps in the Brāhmaṇa period, and it can therefore be safely asserted that coinage was evolved in this country approximately at 1000 B.C.⁴¹ The Indian coins have “such peculiar characteristics of shape and weight” that there can be absolutely no doubt about their indigenous origin and in respect of form were “perhaps the simplest of all.”⁴² These coins are known to the Indian Numismatists as punch-marked, with reference to the system of manufacture. These coins were of silver or copper. Silver was at first beaten into a thin sheet and small strips about half an inch in width were then cut off, and these strips were divided into small pieces of 32 ratis, approximately 56 grains, and the weight was finally adjusted by cutting off small bits from one or more

³⁸ Laughlin, J. L.—*The Principles of Money*, p. 25.

³⁹ *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IV, p. 217 (for Iono-Lyidian Controversy).

⁴⁰ Macdonald, G.—*The Evolution of Coinage*, p. 9.

⁴¹ Chakraborty, S. K.—*A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 33.

⁴² Macdonald, G.—*The Evolution of Coinage*, p. 57.

corners.⁴³ In the case of copper, the strips were “cut out of a thicker bar,”⁴⁴ and “some of the copper pieces may have been made from cast blanks,”⁴⁵ the standard weight was however 80 ratis or approximately 146 grains. Various symbols were then impressed on the face of the coins by punches which were “applied irregularly at various points on the surface,”⁴⁶ and the result was a “confused jumble of symbols ;”⁴⁷ the obverse had the larger ones and the reverse was either blank or generally had a single minute device, or sometimes “2 or 3 comparatively inconspicuous devices.”⁴⁸ It was rather rare to have both the sides crowded with symbols. Sometimes the punches were impressed on the hammered sheets before cutting them into strips,⁴⁹ and consequently some of the symbols are found mutilated. The symbols were the marks of authorisation of the issuing body, either an individual banker, a corporation or *Negama*, or the state itself. From the great importance of the institution of coinage to the mercantile class, a presumption would naturally arise that the initiative in the matter was taken by the merchants themselves, and that the state issues were later than the private coins. Babelon is the well-known advocate of this theory⁵⁰ and he has surely made a strong case, while dealing with the earliest electrum coinage of Asia Minor. In an electrum coin found at Halicarnasus and perhaps struck at Ephesus and which is claimed to be “the earliest inscribed coin known,” we have a short inscription and “stag-feeding” device.⁵¹ The inscription—“I am the sign of Phanes” surely refers to the “Stag-feeding”

43 Whitehead, R. B.—*The Pre-Mohammadan Coinage of North Western India*, p. 40.

44 Walsh, E. H. C.—*Indian Punch-marked Coins—J. R. A. S. (Cent. Supp.)*, p. 175.

45 Smith, V. A.—*Catalogue of Coins, Ind. Museum*, p. 134.

46 Do. Do. p. 131.

47 Do. Do. p. 131.

48 Do. Do. p. 131.

49 Bhandarkar, D. R.—*Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 150.

50 Babelon—*Les Origines de la monnaie*, pp. 91 ff.

51 Barclay, V. H.—*A Guide to the Principal Gold and Silver Coins of the Ancients*,

Type and this was evidently the device of Phanes who was a private individual, presumably a merchant or a banker, intimately connected with trade and commerce.

In India, we have an advocate of this theory in Smith who held the view that the punch-marked coins were the specimens of private issues—it “was a private coinage issued by guilds and silver smiths with the permission of ruling powers.”⁵² But scholars like Spooner,⁵³ Bhandarkar⁵⁴ and Walsh⁵⁵ came to a different conclusion as the result of their study of hoards of punch-marked coins. In Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra we have details about the manufacture of coins.⁵⁶ The Lakṣmādhyaakṣaḥ or the Superintendent of Mint carried on the manufacture of coins according to the rules laid down, and the Rūpadarsaka or the examiner of coins regulated currency both as a medium of exchange (vyāvahārikam) and as legal tender admissible to the treasury (Kośapraveśyām). So there can be absolutely no doubt that by the time of the Mauryas, the state had secured the monopoly of coinage and the issue of coins had passed away from the hands of private individuals to the state, and the last stage in the evolution of coinage was reached when the right of mintage became a royal monopoly. It is not possible for us to identify the oldest coins in India and to refer them definitely to the private individuals or corporations, or to the state, as they are all uninscribed, and the symbols impressed on them might have been equally adopted by private individuals or the state. Though thousands of these coins have been unearthed, yet there is nothing to be surprised at, if the private issues have escaped the notice of scholars. We can however definitely ascribe a few inscribed coins to the Naigamas or organised bodies of merchants who had

⁵² Smith, V. A.—Cat. of Coins in Indian Museum, p. 133.

⁵³ Arch. Sur. of India, Annual Report, 1905-06, p. 153.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1913-14, pp. 220, and ff.

Bhandarkar, D. R.—The Carmichael Lectures, 1921, pp. 98 f.

⁵⁵ Journal, R. A. Society (Cent. Supp.), Oct., 1924, p. 175.

⁵⁶ Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (Shamaśāstry), p. 98 (Trans. 1915).

the privilege of coining money in the 3rd century B.C. Four such coins are described by Cunningham in his book ;⁵⁷ these have the word *Negamā* on the reverse and on the obverse such proper names as Tālimata, Dujaka, Dojaka, Atakatakā, in characters of the 3rd century B.C. The names are taken to be those of towns by Bhandarkar,⁵⁸ and his view appears to be more appropriate than that of Rapson who regards "the names as those of the rulers of the guilds."⁵⁹ It can therefore be incontestably asserted that the ancient Indian guilds issued coins, "specimens of which, belonging to different periods, have been discovered in the process of archaeological exploration"⁶⁰ and were of the nature of 'mercantile guild-tokens.' In the *Visuddhimagga*, it is stated that some "Naigamas and Gāmas" could issue money,⁶¹ though it might be under the supervision of the state. In this connection, we have also to consider the fundamental difference between the local self-governing institutions in ancient India and the corresponding institutions of modern times. In India, "the communal institutions, guilds, and local bodies have an independent origin and growth out of fluid and inchoate conditions of tribal life and organisation. When the state comes to supervene or be superimposed upon these, it has to treat with them more or less on terms of equality and recognise their pre-existing rights by conventions and agreements which operate as charters regulating their mutual relations. Thus the varied interests of the communal life, such as administrative, judicial, civic, commercial, or industrial, are assured by the voluntary co-operation of the independent and integral units of a common body politic."⁶² Therefore the claim that the merchants or the bankers took the

⁵⁷ Cunningham, A.—*Coins of Ancient India*, Plate III, pp. 63-65.

⁵⁸ Bhandarkar, D. R.—*The Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 175-79. *Ibid.*, 1921, p. 6.

⁵⁹ J. R. A. S., 1900, p. 99.

⁶⁰ Mookerjee, R.—*Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 114.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, foot-note.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

initiative in India as in the West cannot be brushed aside, though there can be no doubt that the punch-marked coins are mainly state-issues. It is only among the earliest coins that we can expect to identify the private issues, but the chronological arrangement among the punch-marked coins is almost impracticable in the present state of our knowledge, though Mr. Durgaprasad had at least made a laudable attempt.⁶³ Among the inscribed coins and also in the ancient literature, we have a reference to the practice of private issues, so our presumption that this was the earlier practice may be correct as in the West. In Lydia during the time of Croesus, the issue of coins became a royal monopoly, and though we cannot determine the exact point of time with reference to India, yet we find that at least under the Mauryas, coinage had been brought under the control of the state, though special privileges might have been extended to different corporate bodies or individuals, surely under proper checks and definite rules.

The punch-marked coins were in circulation in Northern India up to the Christian era at least, though a few might have remained in use up to the time of the Kushanas, as Cunningham found three such coins in the deposit at the foot of the Vajrāsana, or the throne of the Buddha, in the temple of Mahābodhi at Buddha Gaya,⁶⁴ and this deposit was made in the reign of Huvishka in the 2nd century A.D. In Southern India, the punch-marked coins circulated “down to about 300 A.D.”⁶⁵

The casting of metals for the manufacture of ornaments was in use as early as the Indus Culture, and the practice therefore must have been very old, and indigenous in origin. Consequently, we find that casting the coins was extensively in use. The blanks of copper were cast in the mould, and devices were later on punched on them, and there can be no doubt that some of these

⁶³ Numismatic Supp. (The Indian Numismatic Society)—“Classification and Significance of the Symbols on the Silver Punch-marked Coins” (Durgaprasad), No. XLV.

⁶⁴ Cunningham, A.—Coins of Ancient India, p. 55.

⁶⁵ Smith, V.—Cat. of Coins in Indian Museum, p. 185.

copper cast coins were as old as the 5th century B.C.⁶⁶ But the inconvenience of punching the symbols separately on the pieces of metal selected is obvious, and this was obviated by putting the symbols on the moulds ; the coins were then manufactured by pouring molten metal into them. The devices were in *intaglio* in the moulds and came out in relief on the coins, but it is true that the devices were not as sharp-cut and clear as previously. This practice of casting the coins was continued even when striking from dies had come into use in some parts of the country. Casting from moulds has an obvious advantage, specially when the metal used contains a large amount of alloy and cannot stand the shock of the hammer. Later on the Type replaced the smaller devices and the cast coins were all of copper or its various alloys. Some of the states like Kauśāmbī, Ajodhyā, Mathurā, Eraṇ, etc., issued cast coins as late as the 3rd century A.D. A terra-cotta mould in a very fine condition found in excavation near about Mathurā is carefully preserved in the Mathurā Museum, and similar such moulds have been discovered elsewhere.

The latest development in the technic of manufacture of coins was to strike from dies. In India, we have to take cognisance of at least four distinct stages before it was finally reached. In the first stage, the symbols were grouped in a distinct type and formed a die which covered only two-thirds of the piece ; the lower face remained blank. This is exemplified by some of the coins of Eraṇ and in the opinion of Prof. Rapson "this is usually the case in those parts of India which were least affected by foreign influence."⁶⁷ The next advance is marked by the "adaptation of the anvil to the first crude idea of a reverse, in a sunk-die or catch of small dimensions cut into the anvil itself."⁶⁸ This invention was followed by "various stages of elaboration, from the rough *intaglio*, which served to fix the

⁶⁶ Brown, C. J.—Coins of India, p. 18.

⁶⁷ Rapson, E. J.—Indian Coins, p. 11.

⁶⁸ Thomas, E.—Ancient Indian Weights, p. 54.

planchet, up to the complete superficial reverse of later examples.”⁶⁹ Thus in this third stage the obverse die covers the whole face but the reverse die is smaller than the blank ; and in the last or the fourth stage, both the faces of the coin, the obverse and the reverse, were fully covered by devices and were struck by two dies. The coins illustrated by Cunningham in his book on Ancient Indian Coins, Plates II and III, bring before us all the various specimens. In the opinion of Prof. Rapson which seems to be convincing “ the art of striking from a die ” was first adopted in Taxila. In the earliest specimens, the impress of the die was on the obverse and the reverse was blank, but the method was “ peculiarly Indian.” The metal took the impress of the die in a semi-molten condition, and as a result the “ impress of the die was left enclosed in a deep incuse square.”⁷⁰ The variations of this system are found in the coins of Pañchāla, Tripurī, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā. The double-die coins of Taxila whether round or square have a greater symmetry of shape, and marks “ an advance in the art of die-cutting.”⁷¹ The finest specimens are found in the Gandhara region and the “ guild-tokens ” are some of the earliest of the type. The cup-shaped coins circulated among the Western Chālukyas and the Kadambas of the South and the cup-like reverse was favoured by the Indo-Scythians and the Sassanians even when they became cognisant of the “ more advanced methods of coining.”⁷²

It is a matter of controversy whether the die system was indigenous or introduced by the foreigners. James Prinsep is the advocate of the foreign and Thomas and Bhandarkar support the indigenous origin ; while Smith takes up a peculiar attitude and ascribes only the “ double-die ” system to the Greeks and the Romans. A thorough discussion of the arguments advanced has convinced us that it is not possible to make a

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Rapson, E. J.—Indian Coins, p. 14.

⁷¹ Brown, C. J.—The Coins of India, p. 19.

⁷² Thomas, E.—Ancient Indian Weights, p. 55, foot-note 1.

definite statement, covering the whole country. When we remember that the die system gradually moved from the western part of the country, the Punjab and the Gandhara region to the eastern, and later on to the south the Deccan, and covers a period of at least 800 years, the foreign influence in the earlier stages specially in the north-western region near about Taxila has got to be accepted.⁷³

With the advent of coins, came the problem of choosing the metal for the purpose. The qualities that made the metals the main medium of exchange all over the world are well-known. But the particular metal or metals to be used by a country or a state depends on various causes. First comes the availability of the metal. A metal of which the supply is intermittent or which is not procurable within the country, or brought from outside with great difficulty, cannot satisfactorily serve the purposes of coinage. Moreover much depends on the economic condition of the society. A country in a low economic state will be satisfied with a money material which may not be able to serve the purpose of coinage of an economically highly developed people. The price of the money material as contrasted with commodity prices is also a determining factor. It will be now our attempt to discuss the choice of metals for coinage by the different states in the various periods of early Indian History.

Copper is available in ores throughout India. It came into use after the Neolithic period, though surely much later than gold; and Copper Age antiquities have been found in the different parts of the country,⁷⁴ and it was freely used by the Indus Valley people. With the introduction of coinage, its service was requisitioned, and the earliest coins of India, as in Egypt, were of copper. The Kārshāpana of copper became so intimately identified

⁷³ Chakrabortty, S. K.—A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics. For full discussion, see Chap. V, pp. 123-26.

⁷⁴ Mitra, P.—Pre-historic India, p. 189.

with coinage, that it was used as a general term for coins, and signified coins of copper, silver and even of gold of a particular weight,⁷⁵ viz., 80 ratis. Moreover copper was not so abundant, and consequently, not relatively so cheap as in modern times, and therefore was well-fitted for the purpose; and this metallic currency together with its tokens the cowrie shells, etc., came into circulation in the beginning of coinage in India. But it is generally advanced as an argument in favour of the priority of silver that the copper punch-marked coins are fewer in number. But we know that the copper coins have not the same longevity as the gold and silver coins, and this would explain the comparative scarcity of copper Kārshāpaṇa and its sub-divisions. Mr. Thomas' opinion can be quoted in this connection—"That the silver coins should have been preserved to the present time, in larger numbers than their more perishable and less esteemed copper equivalents, was to be anticipated, specially considering the greater wear and tear and easy reconversion of the latter into either new dynastic mintages or their proverbial absorption by all classes for the construction of domestic utensils." ⁷⁶ But in India when silver came into use, copper currency was not always regarded as auxiliary to the silver currency and "a copper standard prevailed in some districts just as a silver standard prevailed in others." ⁷⁷ The proof of this statement is supplied by the ancient law books, the Dharmaśāstras and the study of the extant coins, and there can be no doubt at all that in "Ancient India silver and copper coinages were often independent of each other and circulated in different districts," ⁷⁸ e.g., Nārada quoted in the Vācaspatya states that the silver Kārshāpaṇa was current in the south, and surely the word Kārshāpaṇa means the standard coin whether of silver or copper.

⁷⁵ Rapson, E. J.—Cat. of Coins of the Andhras, etc., p. clxxix.

⁷⁶ Thomas, E.—The Ancient Indian Weights, p. 53.

⁷⁷ Rapson, E. J.—Cat. of Coins of the Andhras, etc., p. clxxix.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

The statement of Cunningham that India produced little or no silver cannot be accepted in its entirety.⁷⁹ In Kautilya's Arthaśāstra, we have a reference to the varieties of silver extracted from the mountains Tuttha, Kambu, Chakravāla and the product of a country known as Gauḍa.⁸⁰ Small quantities have been found "in Kulu and Mānbhum and at Deogurh in the Santal Parganā,"⁸¹ as well as in the Aravalli Hills. At Genguria as many as 102 objects in silver were discovered in 1870, "dating from the Copper Age,"⁸² and silver ornaments and utensils have been excavated at Mahen-jo-daro and Harappa. But it is also true that as compared with gold, silver was rather scarce; so the importation of silver was a regular feature of ancient Indian commerce. The relative cheapness of gold facilitated the flow of silver coins to this country, where these perhaps remained in active circulation; and this is evident from the presence of the Sigloi or the shekels, the silver coinage of the Persian Empire.⁸³ The Periplus refers to the importation of silver to Barbaricum, silver coins to Barygaza, and "coins in great quantity" to Muziris, Nelcynda and Bacarē in the Cherā and Pāṇḍya Kingdoms.⁸⁴

The punch-marked coins have been found in both the metals, but as it is not possible to determine their provenance or chronology with any degree of precision; it is hopeless to classify the states or peoples which adopted monometallism of silver or copper, or had both the metals in use side by side, though presumption may be raised by the latter practice, *i.e.*, a state which had only copper coins, die-struck or cast, with Types in circulation may be presumed to have only copper in the punch-marked stage, and similar might have been the case with silver, or bimetallism of silver and copper. But it is also evident that this statement cannot

⁷⁹ Cunningham, A.—Coins of Ancient India, p. 5.

⁸⁰ Kautilya's Arthaśāstra (Shamaśāstry), p. 102.

⁸¹ Elliot, W.—Coins of Southern India, p. 51, foot-note 1.

⁸² Mitra, P.—Pre-historic India, p. 189.

⁸³ The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 343.

⁸⁴ Schoff, W. H.—The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, pp. 33, 42, 44 and 287.

be taken to be universally true, as we know of actual cases when a state or people changed from one metal to another perhaps due to economic exigencies.

When we come to the indigenous coins that followed the punch-marked issues, we meet with three distinct classes of states or peoples. The coins of Avantī, Ayodhyā, Eraṇ, Kauśāmbī, the Mahārāja Janapada, the Mālavas, the Sibies, the Ārjunyānas, the Asvakas and others had only copper coins, while the Vṛshṇis, Vimakas and such others had only silver coins, or up to date no copper coins issued by them have been discovered. At Taxila and Magadha and among the Audumbaras, the Kuṇindas, the Yaudheyas and others, we have coins of silver as well as copper. A discussion about the coins of some of these tribes or states proves that they began with copper and adopted silver later on, in addition to copper ; and in some cases, this innovation was given up in favour of copper only, *e.g.*, the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas who were habituated to bimetallism of silver and copper fell off from silver in the 2nd century A. D. and reverted to the older practice of monometallism of copper.⁸⁵

Gold attracted the notice of primitive men in the Palaeolithic Age and it was specially fitted by its inherent qualities to serve the purposes of personal decoration, and its first employment in arts began most probably in India, or at least in the East.⁸⁶ It was at first treasured as a commodity, and after the society had passed through the stage of barter, it came to be employed as a medium of exchange.

India had an abundant supply of gold. Kauṭilya refers to the varieties of gold, *e.g.*, Jāmbūnada, the product of river Jambu, Satakumbha and Vainava extracted from the mountains Satakumbha and Vēṇu, Hāṭaka extracted from the mines named Hāṭaka and lastly Śṛṅgaśuktija of which the meaning is obscure.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Chakraborty, S. K.—Tribal Coins of Northern India, Num. Supp. No. XLVI.

⁸⁶ Palgrave, Sir R. H.—The Dictionary of Political Economy, Vol. II, p. 219.

⁸⁷ Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, p. 101.

It was available in the form of dust or nuggets in the beds of rivers, and the Indus was specially rich in gold. Megasthenes observes that the gold dust of India "was sold to the merchants in its natural state, because it did not require to be purified."⁸⁸ The metal was melted in bars, and pieces were cut off of required weight, and perhaps tiny symbols were stamped on them as we find in the solid ingots and bent bars of silver described by Smith in his Catalogue.⁸⁹ That these pieces of ingots were in use has been proved by Bhandarkar who refers to the story of Janaka, the King of Videha, who "collected a thousand kine, and we are told that to every single horn of each cow were tied ten *pādas* and it was proclaimed that they should be taken away by him alone who is best cognisant with *brahman*."⁹⁰ The *Śatamānas* referred to in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* "were round in shape,"⁹¹ perhaps it was similar to the spherule of gold reproduced by Elliot in his *Coins of Southern India*.⁹² It is evident that gold changed hands as a commodity, and also as a medium of exchange as ingots of irregular shape, sometimes globular or cut off from a bar, but each piece conformed to a definite weight. In the present state of our knowledge, we would not be justified in asserting the existence of gold coinage at the early stage when silver and copper came to be requisitioned for the purpose, and this must have been due to the fact that it was too valuable in the economic condition of the times. *Nishka*, *Śatamāna*, etc., cannot be deemed to be coins in the modern sense of the word, though they served one of the most important functions of coinage as mediums of exchange, and also perhaps as a theoretical standard of value. No indigenous gold coins contemporaneous with the punch-marked coins of silver and copper have been found as yet. "The earliest gold coins of Northern India are one or two small pieces which

⁸⁸ Cunningham, A.—*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 5.

⁸⁹ Smith, V.—*Cat. of Coins in Indian Museum*, p. 136.

⁹⁰ Bhandarkar, D. R.—*Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 59, foot-note 2.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 56 and 57.

⁹² Elliot, Sir W.—*Coins of Southern India*, p. 53 (Plate I, No. 2).

were probably struck at Taxila and bear the peculiar symbol which Sir Alexander Cunningham called the Taxila mark.”⁹³ With the Kushanas in the 1st century A.D. however we have an extensive gold currency, and we can therefore conclude that gold became abundant during this period. There was huge importation of precious metals from the West and specially from Rome. The Indian luxuries were very much coveted by the people of the Roman Empire and the trade was so much in favour of India that huge quantities of gold and silver bullion and coins had to be sent to India in payment and this economic drain is much lamented by Pliny.⁹⁴ A large number of Roman coins had been discovered in India and the Periplus refers to the profitable trade in foreign coins of gold and silver at Barygaza. The Kushanas, therefore, with the Roman example before them, adopted gold coinage for the first time in India, and the finest specimens were minted by the Imperial Guptas from 320 to 480 A. D. For Bengal the earliest were those of Śaśāṅka; but the later gold coins of this province known as the so-called Imitation Gupta coins were rude and barbarous imitations of the fine Gupta issues. In the mediaeval period, some of the rulers belonging to the different dynasties—the Kalachuries of Dāhāla, the Chandels of Jejākabhukti, the Haihayas of Mahākosala, the Tomāras of Delhi and Ajmer and others no doubt issued gold coins, but these are surely not good specimens of the coin-maker’s art, and many of these coins have a disproportionately high percentage of alloy.

In the Deccan, the gold coins had an independent development with well-marked stages. The earliest specimens, of which the date cannot be ascertained, were small spherules of plain gold with a minute punch-mark on one side, came to be followed by the cup-shaped padmaṭaṅkas with punches, first on one side, and then on both the sides. Lastly, we come to the die-struck pieces, “ of which the small thick Vijayanagar pagodas are the

⁹³ Whitehead, R. B.—The Pre-Mohammadan Coinage of North-western India, p. 44.

⁹⁴ Schoff, W. H.—The Periplus, pp. 42, 44 and 219.

typical southern forms.”⁹⁵ Southern India exhibited a peculiar characteristic in its preference for tiny coins, not only of gold but also of copper and silver.

Nickel was first discovered by Cunningham in some of the coins of the Indo-Greek Kings, *viz.*, Euthydemus II (235 B. C.), Agathokles and Pantaleon. A coin of Euthydemus, now in the British Museum, was subjected to detailed chemical analysis and showed 77½ p. c. of copper, 20 p. c. of nickel, mere trace of silver and very small portions of cobalt, iron, tin and sulphur. It is well-known that isolated nickel is not found in a native or elemental state, and it was about 2,000 years later that nickel came to be recognised as a separate element. It is therefore, evident, that the metal used by these Indo-Bactrian Kings “was a natural alloy derived by a direct smelting of a complex ore,”⁹⁶ belonging to the type known as nickel sulphate ores which are, however, not found near about Bactria. So it has been suggested that the metal for the coins was obtained from Kandahar where nickel in small quantities is said be present in the gold bearing lodes of that region. The deposit from which was obtained the supply had become exhausted, and therefore all traces of the deposit had disappeared. Barton favours the suggestion “that the metal was imported into Bactria in a prepared form from China by overland route.”⁹⁷ But the “original overland route between China and Bactria is said, according to Chinese annals, to have been established in the year 188 B.C.”⁹⁸ The date of Euthydemus coin is 235 B.C., and if Cunningham’s identification of *ferri candidii* (white iron) with nickel of which 100 talents were presented to Alexander by the Oxydracae and Malli—the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas in the Punjab, be correct, then this theory must be discarded in favour of either of the assumptions that deposits of nickel sulphate ores existed in Bactria but have subsequently disappeared, or they secured the supply from Kandahar ; the latter one seems to be

⁹⁵ Brown, C. J.—The Coins of India, p. 57.

⁹⁶ Barton, F. R.—History of Nickel Coinage, p. 2.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

more preferable. However, 2,000 years elapsed before nickel was again employed for coinage in Switzerland in 1850 A.D.

Lead was used for coinage outside India in Numidia, in Roman Egypt, and in Roman Gaul, in ancient times; and in Denmark in the 17th century. In this country also this was extensively used by the Andhras of the South who had a "special partiality for lead" and in the opinion of Rapson "the coinages of lead predominated" in the Andhra Empire."⁹⁹ Leaden coins were struck for the first time in Northern India "conjointly by Strato I Soter and his grandson, Strato II Philopater (c. 140 B.C.). India produced very little lead in ancient times as at present, and the indigenous supply had to be supplemented by foreign importation; and this is distinctly referred to in the Periplus—lead was imported to Barygaza (modern Broach) in the Kingdom of Nambanus (perhaps Nahapāna, the Śaka Satrap) and to the ports of Southern India, viz., Muziris, Nelcynda, and Bacarē.¹⁰⁰ The preference for lead might be due to some extent to the paucity of silver. Śisakahāpaṇa or lead Kārshāpaṇas are referred to in the Jātaka literature, and it was also used in Northern India by Azes and Rañjubula the Satrap of Mathurā; but lead currency was extensively used in the South; and the small leaden coins of the Andhras are "exceedingly rude."

Lastly, we come to the alloys of the different metals, viz., electrum, billon, potin, brass or pale bronze. Electrum as a natural alloy of gold and silver was abundant in Asia Minor, and the earliest coins of that region were manufactured in this metal. In India no such coins had been unearthed, though recently it was discovered that the coins of Jayāpīḍa Muktāpīḍa (700 A.D.) of Kashmir that appeared to be of copper were found on chemical analysis to contain a small quantity of gold; perhaps this was due to the inability to extract gold from the alloy found

⁹⁹ Rapson, E. J.—A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhras, etc., p. clxxxii.

¹⁰⁰ Schoff, W. H.—The Periplus, pp. 175, 198, 205, 208 and 211.

in the natural state. Billon is a mixed metal of silver and copper in varying proportions with a greater amount of copper. Potin which has been characterised as the "degenerate ghost of silver" was a curious alloy of copper. Brass is an alloy of copper and zinc in the proportion of 2 : 1 or 4 : 3; and a cheap alloy of copper and tin is bronze. Billon and potin coins were issued by the Andhras of the Deccan; and the coins in potin are found in Kolhāpur and Malwa in association with other metals, and exclusively in Chanda District under the Andhra Empire. Billon was very much favoured by the mediaeval Hindu dynasties as well as the early Muhammadan rulers. Coins in brass or pale bronze were discovered at Ayodhyā, Kosam, Avantī and other ancient sites. Rañjubala and Śoḍāsa, the Satraps of Mathurā, in the 2nd century B.C. issued coins in bronze. The percentage of the different metals forming the above-mentioned alloys was never constant, and varied in different periods, among the various peoples and states.

The invention of coins thus compelled the ancient states and tribes to grapple with the problem of selecting the metals for coinage as best as they could. But the imperfect technology of coinage, naturally led to material deviations from the standard fixed; and the innumerable states with the incessant rise and fall of dynasties presented a bewildering media of exchange; but whatever might be the difficulty of interstate commerce, the currency, however rude and imperfect, satisfied the primary quality of general and ready acceptability, and with an extensive employment of non-metallic tokens, served as best as possible, considering the stage of economic development, the purposes of currency.

LECTURE II

THE WEIGHT SYSTEMS :—THE LEGAL TENDER COINS AND THEIR TOKENS

The oldest coins of this country are of punch-marked variety. These are of two metals, silver and copper, and are based upon two weight systems—the silver coins are known as the Purāṇas or Dharāṇas and the copper ones, the Kārshāpaṇas. The silver Purāṇa had a weight of 32 ratis and the copper Kārshāpaṇa was of 80 ratis; and these coins had their sub-multiples—the ardha, the pāda and so on. Why different systems of weight were employed for two metals had not yet been definitely known. A clue however is afforded by the oldest weight system which we find referred to in the earlier portion of the Vedic Literature, *viz.*, Śatamāna. We have seen that the Nishka, the necklace served as a medium of exchange in early society like cow, rice and wampum beads. But later on, the difference in the weight of the separate pieces of Nishkas had to be taken into account; and with economic development, the necessity arose for the standardisation of the Nishka which came to be equated to a definite weight of metal. Thus a lump of metal one Nishka in weight came to replace Nishka, the necklace for the purpose of exchange. A Nishka of gold is equated to 320 ratis, the weight of a Śatamāna of silver in Manu and Yājñavalkya.¹ Śatamāna was of gold in the Brāhmaṇa period, *e.g.*, in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and we have references to it in the Taittiriya Saṃhitā of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda. The Śatamāna is evidently 100 times the unit of measurement and as Manu equates it to 320 ratis, a Māna, therefore is equal to 3·2 ratis. The Kṛṣṇa system, of which the unit of measurement is a rati, occurs for the first time in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, *i.e.*, in the Brāhmaṇa period, and therefore must be later than the Māna unit: and the reason seems to be

¹ Bhandarkar, D. R.—Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 212.

that the old unit of 3·2 ratis was deemed too heavy, and a smaller unit was needed with the progress of society ; and this was the rati.

“ In all countries the common measures have been derived from natural objects,”² and the measures of weight in India are all based on seeds and beans, *e.g.*, the Raktika, the Barley-corn, the Māsha bean, etc.; the rati weight is derived from raktika, “the red and black-berry of the Guñjā plant” and I have shown elsewhere³ that the Śatamāna unit may be referred to the Mañjādi seeds—100 mañjādis give us the Śatamāna of 560 grains (approximately) or 320 ratis. The Nishka or Śatamāna system of measure supplies us with a satisfactory solution for the peculiar arrangement in employing the Dharaṇas of 32 ratis side by side with the copper Kārshāpaṇa of 80 ratis and the existence of two separate Tables of Weights—one for the precious metals, gold and silver, and the other for copper. The Māna unit of 5·6 grains is restricted to the precious metals only, and it is older in origin and heavier in weight; the rati unit of 1·75 grs. came into use later and gradually supplanted the older unit. The sub-divisions of the precious metals were based upon the Māna unit, and when silver coins came to be issued for the first time, these were naturally equated in weight to the sub-multiples of the Śatamāna to which they were accustomed so long. The silver Dharāṇa therefore came to be equated to $\frac{1}{10}$ of the Śatamāna, *i.e.*, 32 ratis or 56 grains in weight, while a Half-Dharāṇa was equal in weight to $\frac{1}{20}$ of a Śatamāna. Such a low sub-division was necessitated by the economic condition of the country; the heavier weights would have been too valuable for ordinary transactions. The punch-marked coins of silver and their sub-multiples, have been found in all parts of the country and gold coins of that weight were known as the Kalanjus in the Deccan and were theoretically

² Cunningham, A.—Coins of Ancient India, p. 1.

³ Chakrabortty, S. K.—A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, Chapter III, Weights and Coin Denominations.

10 Mañjādis, *i.e.*, $\frac{1}{10}$ Satamāna in weight. The Kārshāpanas of copper, however, were put on the Kṛshṇala basis, and thus India evolved two systems of weight for her oldest coins—one restricted to precious metals, gold and silver and the other for copper. But gradually the newer system of weight based on the rati supplanted the older one of Māna; and Kārshāpanas were not confined to copper only but were extended to the precious metals also, and the gold Kārshāpanas of 80 ratis came to be denominated the Suvarṇa in later times, *e.g.*, under the Imperial Guptas.

Prof. Rapson is perfectly correct in his statement that the “simple weight-systems given in the law books do not afford a satisfactory explanation of the weights of ancient Indian coins in general.”⁴ In ancient India as in modern times, there was a great diversity in the weight systems of different districts, though there were certain general principles in this diversity. The various systems of weights have uniformity of scale though there are “immense variations in the weight of units,”⁵ *e.g.*, generally a Māsha of silver was of 3 ratis and of copper 5 ratis but “Māshas of other values also—6, 10, 12, or 16 ratis were used as units in different parts of India.” So it is not strange that the actual specimens of coins do not conform to the traditional weight-system. It is found on examination of the extant coins catalogued by Smith and others that they generally fall far short of the standard weight; and in the case of the copper coins, the variation is greater than in the case of the silver ones. There are many reasons for this divergence. We have to take cognisance of some uncertain factors in determining the amount of variation from the standard weight. The weight of a rati is a variable quantity. A seed of a tree even when perfectly ripe is sure to vary in size and weight. Some of the scholars who took the trouble of weighing a large number of

⁴ Rapson, E. J.—Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhrā Dynasty, etc., p. clxxxi.

⁵ *Ibid.*

ripe Guñjā seeds arrived at different averages, *e.g.*, Smith takes a rati as equal to 1·825 grains, Cunningham as 1·83 grs., Elliot 1·68 and Bhandarkar as 1·75 grs.⁶ Therefore we need not be surprised if the unit of the rati weight was not constant throughout the country. The other factors which are very uncertain, and for which proper allowance must be made are the wear and tear to which the coins were subjected to when in circulation, the corroding influence of earth and climate, and the inveterate habit of clipping which was very much prevalent before the introduction of milled edge in recent times. There is no doubt that the cumulative result of all these different factors led to a marked divergence from the standard weight in the case of extant coins and this seems to be greater in the case of copper, just as we expected. Cunningham took 800 punch-marked coins from all parts of India and found the average weight to be “upwards of 47 grains,” a loss of 9 grains or 19 p.c. taking the standard weight of Purāṇa to be 56 grains. He came to the conclusion from this datum that “the average loss of these punch-marked coins was not more than one grain and a half in a century,”⁷ taking these coins to be in circulation for 600 years from 450 B.C. to 150 A.D. But all these coins cannot be taken to have a life of 600 years, some of them might have been minted just before punch-marked coins went out of use. That actually the loss was on occasions much greater is proved by the 3 punch-marked coins which were found by Cunningham at the foot of the Vajrāsana or the throne of the Buddha in the temple of Mahābodhi at Bodh-Gayā, the deposit dating from the time of Huvishka in the 2nd century A.D. These coins weigh 111 grs., an average of 37 grs. only—a loss of 19 grs. in 600 years (?), *i.e.*, 3 grs. per century.⁸ So one and half a grain per century seems to be the lowest for the silver

6 Chakrabortty, S. K.—A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 51.

7 Cunningham, A.—Coins of Ancient India, p. 55.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

coins, in the case of copper the loss was heavier when we take into consideration the nature of the metal itself. There can be no doubt that the extant coins must fail to conform to the standard weight whether of indigenous or foreign origin; but greater the variation, the less certain is our conclusion about the identification of the different weight-systems. Another element of complexity was introduced in the case of states with coins in two or more metals, by their attempts to keep pace with the variations in the ratios of the different metals by changing the weight of their coins in that metal which they considered subsidiary, *e.g.*, a rise in the price of silver in terms of copper would lead to the reduction in the weight of the silver coins, the copper ones remaining constant in weight and *vice versa*. Surely this was not the universal practice, but there is no doubt that some of the states wanted to grapple with the problem of the change of metallic ratios by adopting this method. The subject will be treated in fuller length later on.

The Persians under Darius I, son of Hystaspes (521-485 B.C.), occupied a portion of the Punjab, and this province on the Indus was organised into a satrapy—the twentieth of the Persian Empire. A new standard weight based on their coins was introduced by them to this country. The gold coins of Darius known as the *Darics* weighed about 130 grains and the silver coins called the *Sigloi* were equal to 86·45 grains in weight.⁹ The *Darics* did not generally come to this country, but the *Sigloi* came in comparatively large numbers in the course of commerce. The difference in the ratio between gold and silver in India and the West, facilitated the export of gold from India; and it was found to be very profitable to import silver, either in specie or in coins, from those countries.¹⁰ The Athenian “Owls” and the Seleucidan coins flowed into this country; these coins were based on the Attic Drachm of 67·5 grains.¹¹ The Graeco-Bactrian

⁹ Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, pp. 342-44.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

Kings adopted the Attic standard and the coins issued by them are based on the drachm of 67·5 grains, its multiples and sub-multiples. The latter Indo-Greek Kings, however, gave up this weight-standard, and Heliocles adopted the new standard for the first time, while Heliocles, Apollodotos and Antialcidas used both the standards, Attic and Indo-Persic side by side. Later on however, the Indo-Greek princes gave up the Attic system in favour of the Indo-Persic. It has not been satisfactorily explained why the Indo-Greek princes gave up the Greek standard in favour of the Persian system ; in Gardner's opinion this was brought about by the change in the relative value of the two metals, while Von Sallet regards it "as reduced from the Attic standard."¹² Whatever might have been the reasons that actuated the Indo-Greek princes in accepting the Indo-Persic standard, there is no doubt that the introduction of this standard was facilitated by the fact that this region was habituated to the Persian standard when it was subject to Persian domination. But the new standard was slightly varied, and it is evidently a little less than the Persian. The maximum theoretical weight of the hemi-drachms of the Indo-Greek rulers and the Indian and foreign rulers who followed them was about 40 grains, as will be evidenced by a consideration of the weights of their extant coins, *e.g.*, a coin of Antimachos II Nikephoros weighs 39·8 grains, another of Nahapāna, the heaviest in the British Museum collection, weighs 39·3 grains. The foreign influence gradually spread over not only Northern India but also the Western and parts of Central India. The hemi-drachms of the Indo-Greek Kings based on the Indo-Persic standard were adopted not only by the Sakas, the Pahlavas and others in the Western half of Hindusthan but also by the Western Kshatrapas of Saurāstra and Mālwa. Rañjubula, the Satrap of Mathurā, the Andhra King Śrī Yajña Gotamīputra and various other rulers.¹³

¹² Rapson, E. J.—The Indian Coins, pp. 3 and 6.

¹³ Brown, C. J.—The Coins of India, p. 31.

In the opinion of Prof. Rapson only 5 or 6 gold coins struck in India during the centuries before Wima Kadphises, 2 or 3 of the Indo-Greek Kings, one perhaps of Taxila and the other of uncertain attribution¹⁴ have come down to us. So we can very well assert that it was really with the Kushanas, that gold coinage came to be introduced in India, and it is certain that these coins bear evidence of the Roman influence. A common Type of Kujūla Kadaphes coins with the "Head" on the obverse is undoubtedly copied from the coins of the Roman Emperors, and the gold issues of Wima Kadphises and his two successors Kanishka and Huvishka are all based on the weight-standard of the Roman *aureus* and came to be known in India as the Dīnāra from Roman denarius (*aureus*). The *aureus* was 124 grains or 8·035 grammes, and the coins were either of this weight, or its multiples or sub-multiples, *e.g.*, we have these denominations of the gold coins of Wima Kadphises (c. 45-78 A.D.)—the Double-Stater, the Stater (or Dīnāra—Roman *aureus* of 124 grains) and the Quarter-Stater. The introduction of gold coins by the Kushanas shows clearly that gold had become abundant at that time, and this was due to the brisk commercial intercourse which had sprung up between India and the different provinces of the Roman Empire,¹⁵ and a large number of Roman gold coins entered the country. The Kushana Emperors naturally adopted the Roman standard not only to facilitate the trade, but also to secure acceptance to their new gold currency. There was also a world shortage of silver, as is evident from the poor quality of the didrachms of the Pahlava Kings and the silver dīnāras of the Roman Empire itself. These are the reasons that led the Kushanas to replace silver by gold, and even when the Western Satraps retained silver, their coins were hemi-drachms of a very inferior metal. In spite of considerable variations in the different districts, it is clearly evident that the Imperial Guptas at first

¹⁴ Rapson, E. J.—The Indian Coins, p. 17.

¹⁵ Brown, C. J.—The Coins of India, p. 34.

adopted the Roman standard for their fine gold issues, but gradually they abandoned it, and in the later coinage of the eastern part of the Empire, they reverted to the old Hindu Suvarṇa standard of 146·4 grains, though actually the weight is a few grains less. The Roman standard was abandoned by Skanda Gupta but it is not certain whether the "Suvarṇa was introduced at the same time or previously."

The silver coins of the Guptas differed much in weight, though there is greater uniformity in the Central than in the Western coinages. The standard was that of the Western Kshatrapas, 32 to 34 grains in the West, and about 36 grains in the Central Provinces of the empire. Their copper coins are in a bad condition and any attempt at generalisation is very difficult,¹⁶ though it has been claimed that "the copper coinage of the main portion of the empire shows a greater originality in its types, and appears to owe little to any preceding copper coinage."¹⁷

The Gupta Empire rapidly broke up after Skanda Gupta (480 A.D.), before the inroads of the Huns. Their gold coins were however imitated in Bengal by Śaśāṅka of Karnaśuvarṇa in the 7th century A.D., and the province even after him boasted of a gold coinage which had "crude reproductions of Gupta designs,"—the so-called Imitation Gupta coins.

The Hunā coinage is marked by a want of originality and ushers in a period of "numismatic degradation" from about 500 to 1100 A.D. The Huns imitated the Sassanian coins and followed the weight standard of the foreign originals which were based on the Attic drachma of 67·5 grains; and in the inscriptions, these coins are actually referred to as *drammas*.¹⁸ The mediaeval gold coins were "drammas in weight," e.g., the

¹⁶ Allan, J.—Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, pp. cxxxi-cxxxv.

¹⁷ Rapson, E. J.—The Indian Coins, p. 25.

¹⁸ Brown, C. J.—The Coins of India, p. 52.

Smith, V.—Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, p. 251, foot-note 1

Kalachuris of Dāhāla, Chandels of Mehoba, Tomāras of Ajmer and Delhi, and the Rāthors of Kanauj, etc. Copper and the so-called silver coins of Gāṅgeyadeva of Chedi follow the same scale of weights;¹⁹ but attempts were also sometimes made “to harmonise with that of the ancient *purāṇa* or ‘punch-marked’ coin of 32 *ratis*, about 58 grains,”²⁰ e.g., in the Bull and Horseman series usually of billon, issued by the Tomāras of Delhi which were known to the Muhammadan historians as the “Delhiwāls” or “Delhi coinage.” The coins of mediaeval period are generally in debased metals and of extremely crude manufacture, and many of these cannot be properly attributed.

Southern India was not much influenced by the foreign dynasties, and it retained its weight system for centuries. The Metric system of the south is based upon the two kinds of seeds, the Mañjāḍi (five to six grains) and the Kalanju equal to 10 mañjāḍis, i.e., almost equal to the Northern Purāṇa or silver punch-marked standard of 32 *ratis* (50 to 60 grains). The small gold coins, the Fanams, are equal in weight to the Mañjāḍi seeds and the larger pieces equivalent to Kalanju seeds were known as the Hūns, the Varāhas or Pagodas. There is considerable variation in the weight of the pagodas of the different dynasties, and this is most probably due to difference in the local standards. The heavier weight of the Chalukya pagodas was perhaps due to the foreign influence of the “dramma” and may testify as to their foreign or Gurjara origin. The coins of the Kadambas were also based on the same standard. But what strikes us most is the persistence of the old traditional standard in spite of the powerful forces that it had to contend with.

The earliest standard coins as stated before were the Kārshāpanas of copper, but with the introduction of silver it was delegated to an inferior position by the Purāṇas or Dharāṇas. In the Magadhan Empire of the 4th century B.C. the silver coins are referred to in the Arthaśāstra—the Paṇa and its sub-multiples

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

the half, the quarter and the one-eighth; and the copper coins were the Māshaka, Half-Māshaka and Kākaṇī. That the Pana was the standard coin is amply proved by the fact that all payments and fines in the Arthaśāstra are to be made in Pana, so it is evident that the copper coins were the tokens. But there were many states that did not care to adopt the innovation, or whose economic condition did not justify the change, and they stuck to copper only as their standard. The number of such states was not at all insignificant as we shall find later on. The foreign invaders, the Indo-Greeks, the Indo-Scythians and the Indo-Parthians of North-Western India showed a partiality for silver coins which necessarily occupied the higher status, and were locally known as the drammas, the Greek drachma which in later times became a general expression for coins, *e.g.*, a copper coin is referred to in its legend as a drama.²¹ With the Kushanas were introduced the gold coins known as the Dīnāras (Denarius aureus of the Romans) and the term Dīnāra came to be later on applied to all gold coins whatever might be the weight. Gold was linked up with copper in the territories under the direct control of the Kushana Emperors, while in the territories ruled over by the Western Kshatrapas silver was the standard coin with copper tokens. The Guptas issued the finest gold coins; they at first followed the Kushanas in their weight system but Skanda Gupta restored the traditional Suvarṇa standard of 80 ratis. The gold coins of the Guptas are referred to in the inscriptions of the period as Dīnāras or Suvarṇas, irrespective of weight. Chandra Gupta II issued silver coins after the overthrow of the Western Kshatrapas, meant perhaps for the people in the conquered territories who were habituated to a silver coinage. Kumāra Gupta extended the silver standard to the Central Provinces of the Empire, and a class of silver-plated Garuḍa coins was perhaps intended for the tributary state of Valabhī. Skanda Gupta had 4 types of silver coins, but silver coinage ceased with him and no

²¹ Smith, V.—Catalogue of Coins in the I. M., p. 182 (Coin No. 18 b).

direct discendents of Skanda Gupta appear to have issued coins in silver.²²

The Huna invasion brought about the deterioration of the gold coins, and the disappearance of silver from the currency of the Gupta Empire. With the downfall of the empire ceased entirely the magnificent issues of gold to which India had been *acclimatised* by the Kushanas and the Guptas. About a hundred years after, the gold coins of the Guptas were imitated in far off Bengal by Śaśānka, and were followed by a series of gold coins—the so-called Imitation Gupta coins which were of very crude manufacture with practically illegible legends; only 2 or 3 of these inscriptions have been deciphered with great difficulty.

The devastation of the Hunas caused such an impoverishment in the territories overrun by them that gold coinage became extinct, and the Huna coins were imitated from or re-struck upon Sassanian pieces of silver. The base Sassanian coins of silver served as the standard currency among the early Rajput dynasties and two of these varieties are the Gadhaiyā coins of Rajputana and Gujarat and the Śrīmad Ādivarāha coins of Mihir Bhoja of Kanauj (840-90 A.D.). Coins similar to these circulated in Bengal and one series had the legend Śrī Vighraha and had been ascribed to the 3 Kings of Bengal with the name Vighrahapāla, the earliest about 900 A.D. and the latest Vighrahapāla III about 1055 A.D. These debased coins are always called “dramas” in the inscriptions.

The Rajput dynasties of Northern and Central India went back to gold in the 11th century A.D.; silver coins were very rare. Gāṅgaeyadeva of Western Chedi (1015-40 A.D.) initiated the type of gold coins which was adopted by the Chandels, the Haihayes, the Tomāras, the Rāthors and the Kalachuris of Mahākosala. The metal, however, is generally very much debased. The Brahmin kings of Gāndhāra or Ohind (c. 860-950 A.D.) had silver coins as their standard while in

²² Brown, C. J.—The Coins of India, p. 47.

Kashmir gold was introduced about 700 A.D., but it practically disappeared with Saṅkara Varma in the middle of the 9th century A.D., the only exception is that of Harshadeva (1089-1101 A.D.) who issued coins of gold and silver in addition to the usual type of copper.

In the mediaeval period, the output of gold was very meagre, and this was evidently due to the impoverishment of the country brought about by the Huna inroads and the continual quarrels between the numerous small states, and the prevalent condition of unrest as a consequence. But silver was also very scarce and this was due to a reason which had a world-wide repercussion. The world supply of silver was mainly drawn from Central Asia. The disturbances consequent upon the rise of Arab power led to a great diminution of the import of silver from abroad. The result was the debasement of silver ; and the Rajput states were forced to use billon as a substitute for silver. The effect of this scarcity was specially marked in Bengal, and this will be alluded to later on.

The earliest coins of the Deccan were also of the punch-marked variety but these remained in circulation for 3 or 4 hundred years more than in the North. The Andhras became independent about 230 B.C. and their earliest coins date from King Śrī Sāta about 150 B.C. Lead coins were the standard currency of the Andhra Empire, and in Andhradeśa the original home of the race as well as in the districts of Anantapur, Cuddapah, Chitaldroog and Karwar and in the Coromandal coast, only coins in lead have been found. In Malabar, the early currency was also of lead, but later on copper or potin came to be used. In certain other parts of the empire, *e.g.*, in Kolhapur, the lead coinage is associated with potin. It thus appears that the standard coins were in lead due to a scarcity of the white metal. But with the conquest of new territories where silver circulated, the Andhras were compelled to retain the old standard coins, *e.g.*, in the Nasik district silver coinage was introduced by Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi about 184 A.D., these being

merely the reissue of the coins struck by Nahapāna, while in Northern Konkan the silver coins were copies from the contemporary coins of the Western Kshatrapas.²³ These silver hemi-drachms are referred to as Kārshāpanas in the inscriptions. The Deccan, however, did not go in for a coinage of silver, but took to gold. The indigenous supply was augmented by foreign imports, and there were two kinds of gold coins in circulation—the Hūn, Varāha or Pagoda, and the Fanam. The token coins were of copper called the Kāsu from Sanskrit Karsha. The earliest specimens, the spherules of gold were in circulation in the first two centuries of the Christian era, and also after the disappearance of the silver punch-marked coins along with the imported gold coins of the Roman Empire. Roman silver coins in small quantity might have also come into circulation, but the Deccan always preferred gold for its standard coins with but rare exceptions. The Chalukyas, for example, no doubt issued silver coins, but this may be due to the fact that they were of a foreign Gurjara Pratihāra origin and went from the North. The cup-shaped gold coins known as the Paḍma-ṭankas came into use after the 5th or 6th century A.D.,²⁴ and were perhaps first struck by the Kadambas. The same preference for gold is found among the Pāndyas who had gold and copper coins only from the 7th to the 11th centuries.²⁵ The earlier coins of the Cholas were gold and silver pieces. Evidently the Southern states always preferred gold to silver; and this might be due to the paucity of silver which had to be wholly imported from abroad, while gold not only came from the provinces of the Roman Empire in large quantity but was also available locally. The preference for gold is found even in the first quarter of the 19th century, till the Act XVII of 1835 introduced a common currency of silver for the whole of India, viz., the Imperial Rupee, and superseded not only the Sicca

²³ Rapson, E. J.—Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, p. clxxxiii.

²⁴ Smith, V.—Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, p. 317, foot-note 1.

²⁵ Brown, C. J.—The Coins of India, p. 62.

Rupee but also the Pagoda of the South. It legislated,—“no gold coin shall henceforth be a legal tender of payment in any of the territories of the East India Company.”²⁶ Thus gold was demonetised, and a violent break was made in the traditions of the South. India was definitely placed on a silver monometallic basis.

The subsidiary currency was of two varieties—metallic and non-metallic. So long as copper was used for the standard coins, the subsidiary currency consisted wholly of non-metallic elements. It was perhaps after the age of the Buddha, and at least before the establishment of the Maurya Empire by Chandra Gupta that silver came into vogue for standard coins in Magadha, and thereby converted the copper coins into mere tokens. We have very little doubt that the face value of the copper coins was always more than the intrinsic value of the bullion. This is also true of silver as we shall find later on; and for the copper tokens the difference must have been greater. In Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, we have a relationship established between the silver and the copper coins. The copper coins referred to in that book are of 4 varieties—the Māshaka, Ardha-Māshaka, the Kākaṇī and Ardha-Kākaṇī; and Māshaka the copper coin is equated to $\frac{1}{16}$ of a Paṇa of silver, in *value* not in weight. So the Ardha-Kākaṇī was $\frac{1}{128}$ in value of the silver coin—the Paṇa of $78\frac{3}{4}$, *i.e.*, on the average 80 ratis.²⁷ We have a reference to another copper coin the *gaṇḍa* in an inscription which was discovered a few years ago at Mahāsthān in Bogra. Mahāsthān is ancient Paṇḍra-varḍhana, and this Mauryan Brāhmī inscription has settled the problem definitely by correctly identifying that famous city on the Karatōā. The inscription mentions three kinds of emergencies for which coins were to be stored up in the treasure chamber, *viz.*, the *Gaṇḍa* and also perhaps according to Dr. Barua *Kākaṇikā*. Evidently both of them were copper coins, and *gaṇḍa* or *gaṇḍā* was a

²⁶ Ambedkar, B. R.—The Problem of the Rupee, p. 22.

²⁷ Buddhistic Studies—Numismatic Data in the Pali Literature, p. 428, foot-note 2.

sub-multiple of Kākaṇī. The use of silver coins was very much restricted, if not totally non-existent in Bengal, at least up to the time of Chandra Gupta. Bengal was far off from the centres of culture in those days—Magadha, Taxila and such other advanced regions of western India ; and consequently the innovation took time to reach the easternmost provinces of the Mauryan Empire, and it was perhaps in later times that silver purāṇas came to Bengal in the course of commerce. We have no definite knowledge whether punch-marked silver coins were minted within the province, though a hoard was discovered a few years back even in the easternmost district of Dacca. However we are perfectly sure that copper coins—the kākāṇī and gaṇḍa were deemed good enough for currency purposes, even if silver had already come into use in the early Mauryan period in Bengal, which however does not appear to be probable. The subsidiary currency must have been non-metallic cowries as is evident from the fact that the gaṇḍa, the copper coin, later on came to be restricted to cowries only. With the advent of silver, its sub-multiples and the copper tokens, the necessity for the gaṇḍa as the lowest denomination of a copper coin vanished, and its position in the token currency was taken up by cowries. At present we find it equated to 4 cowries, but this is not likely to be the relationship in ancient times, of which we have, however, no precise information. In the opinion of Dr. Barua a gaṇḍa is $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Kākāṇī ; this arrangement however cannot be fitted in with the arrangement in the Arthaśāstra. One-fourth of a Māshaka is a Kākāṇī and perhaps $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Kākāṇī is a Gaṇḍa ; that it was a sub-multiple of Kākāṇī goes without saying. It is doubtful whether copper coins when supplanted from its position of standard coins were subjected to the same elaborate process in manufacture which was meted out to silver. Sometimes the smaller sub-multiples passed as mere dumpy pieces as in the case of the Dhābūās which are met with even now in the Gayā district ; but the practice must have been introduced only when the price of copper had gone down to such an extent as compared

with the standard coins of the time that it was immaterial whether the weight did actually conform to the standard ; and I have a suspicion that it was in the mediaeval period only, that copper lost the estimation in which it had been held in former times, and also, consequently, the distinctive signs of a coin. The copper coins are found very much defaced, the deterioration is not only due to the natural climatic causes but also the greater amount of wear and tear that these were subject to on account of the higher velocity of circulation as compared with other metallic pieces.

Copper for subsidiary currency after its introduction as such has remained in circulation for ages. It was at first allied with silver, and with the introduction of gold under the Kushanas, it was linked up with gold, and in the South under the Andhras with lead. A complicated relationship was brought about by the introduction of two other metals—gold and silver, and its various alloys side by side with copper ; but we generally find that within the same empire a preference is given to either gold or silver in a particular province, and the common currency for tokens remained copper, *e.g.*, gold in the central parts of the Kushan Empire and silver in the outlying provinces. Under the Guptas gold and silver circulated, and a part of the work previously allotted to copper was discharged by silver. This demand for precious metals to such an amount points to the economic prosperity of the people, and the necessity for currency with a higher level of prices. But with the Hunas began the degradation, and the paucity of the precious metals threw the main burden for currency work on copper which delegated a part of its duty to cowries ; and also to a greater employment of barter. The period 500-1100 A.D. marks a shrinkage of metallic currency, and a greater employment of non-metallic tokens ; the reasons I shall discuss in the next.

The most important of the non-metallic tokens was the cowrie. These shells were in use from time immemorial, perhaps even when barter was the ordinary means of exchange.

Though these are rapidly disappearing, yet they are found employed as currency in some parts of the country, *e.g.*, in Dacca; and for minor transactions are linked up with copper. The cowrie-shells the *Sippikāni* are mentioned in the *Jātakas* ²⁸ in the sense of doits or mites. The use of cowrie was so common in ancient times that it came to be used as a generic expression for a coin. A variety of single-die coins issued by the Asvakas dating from "probably at least as early as 200 B.C.," if not earlier, has got an inscription in Brāhmī—"Vatasvaka," *i.e.*, *Vaṭa* or coin of the Asvakas.²⁹ The word means a cowrie; and the copper coin of the Asvakas is referred to as *Vaṭa* which has, at about the 3rd century B. C., become a generic term for the coin. The identity of the copper coin with cowries is expressed in the case of the *Kāhan* and the *Gaṇḍā* in Bengal. *Kāhan* derived from *Kārshāpaṇa* the coin originally of 80 *ratis* has now come to signify a number of cowries, and the *gaṇḍā*, the copper coin of the Early Mauryan period, is now expressed only in cowries. The cowries have evidently supplanted the metallic pieces and in the Mediaeval period specially in Bengal, the use of cowrie was so common that a fundamental change was made in the currency of the province.

The other non-metallic articles which served as mediums of exchange are mentioned in Pāṇini, ³⁰ *e.g.*, "*Vasana*," "pieces of cloth of definite value," *go-puccha*—the *chāmara*, and surely not "bovine-toil" as suggested by Bhandarkar, and certain measures of capacity—*Kaṃsa*, *Sūrpa* and *Khārī*. It appears that these are the reminiscences of the old practice of barter which is found, as we all know, even in the most advanced society, and refer perhaps to grain or any other such commodity in common use.

Buddhaghosha, the famous commentator of the *Vinaya Pitaka* who lived in the 5th century A.D. refers to 3 kinds of

²⁸ Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 218.

²⁹ Chakraborty, S. K.—A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, pp. 103, 156-58.

³⁰ Bhandarkar, D. R.—Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 169.

Māshakes³¹ which we know from Arthaśāstra to be a copper coin, $\frac{1}{16}$ in value of the silver Pana. The metallic Māshaka according to Buddhaghosa was of copper the usual one, or iron or some other metal; "another variety is that made of *sāra* wood, the outside of the bamboo, or palmyra leaf, each of which had been turned into the Māshaka by a *rūpa* or figure being cut into it. Third variety consists of lac or gum on which a *rūpa* or figure has been caused to rise up and which has thus become a Māshaka." Iron coins have not yet been discovered, or we have failed to identify them as yet; but the other metals or their alloys were lead, potin, billon, etc.;—lead with reference to silver and gold, potin and billon with reference to gold alone, or potin if placed on the same level with copper, with reference to both the precious metals. The second variety was of the nature of *hundīs*. We know "that mercantile contracts in India have always been carried on largely by notes of hand (*hundīs*), and in times of disturbance these could be conveyed more safely from city to city than coined money,"³² and perhaps the merchants who had business connections in the different towns made arrangements for the payment in metallic coins in lieu of these tokens. Similar practice of tokens issued by mercantile community to serve a limited area, we have in Europe too. Buddhaghosha also mentions other mediums of exchange which were current in his days in the different parts of the country; these were according to him "of bone or skin, or the fruits or seeds of trees." All these non-metallic substances helped the people in their minor transactions, and must have been essentially local in character; the manner of transaction and the particular article taken up must have differed according to locality. The recourse to such articles clearly points to the paucity of metals which were therefore found to be too valuable for ordinary transactions in the villages, and such other economically less advanced parts of the country. The practice was based only on

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

³² Brown, C. J.—*The Coins of India*, pp. 15 and 55.

the common usage, and most probably did not require the definite sanction of the state which only looked on, and allowed the people to have their way and to consult their convenience.

We now turn over to our own province, Bengal. The earliest coins of Bengal that are referred to in an inscription are the *Gāṇḍa* and perhaps the *Kākaṇi*. But the contemporary silver punch-marked coins of the Mauryan Empire must have entered the province in the course of commerce, and these have been excavated from the different parts of the province.

In the Periplus of the first century A.D. we have the mention of a gold coin—the *caltis*. What it actually signifies we are not sure of. These might be indigenous coins, perhaps merely pieces of gold of a definite weight circulating in this province ; and later on side by side with the Kushana gold pieces, a few of which have been found in Mohanand and other places. With the Guptas, the change in the political condition of the province, led to the introduction of gold currency ; and the number of gold coins of the Guptas is far greater than those of the time of the Kushanas. It is evident from the great paucity of the Gupta silver coins, that the currency system was of two metals—gold and copper ; and only a very limited number of silver coins in circulation in other provinces of the Gupta Empire entered Bengal in the course of commerce, and went into the hoards. After the Gupta domination Bengal was driven to fall upon her own resources, though in the other parts of the erstwhile mighty Gupta Empire, the ruling powers were compelled to give up gold coinage. In Bengal on account of her easily accessible source of supply from Tipperah, Assam and Upper Burmah, she revived an indigenous coinage of gold during the time of Śaśāṅka, the King of Karna-Suvarṇa or Gaur, and a line of kings who followed him. Śaśāṅka's gold coins were based on the old Suvarṇa standard of 80 ratis, were of fine manufacture and had a great resemblance to the Gupta issues. The type had on the obverse—Śiva reclining on his bull, Nandi, with a disc of the full moon behind him, alluding to the

name of Śaśāṅka, and on the reverse—the traditional seated Lakshmī of the Guptas, the hands of the Goddess are however empty and on the right and left are elephants sprinkling her, *i.e.*, in the *abhishheka* attitude.

A few gold coins of another contemporary ruler, named Samācāradeva, have been also found; he was perhaps a vassal of Śaśāṅka. We are almost confident that he was a King of Vaṅga Samatata, and is associated with two other Kings Dharmāditya and Gopacandra³³ who perhaps reigned before Samācāra. Numismatic evidence clearly proves the existence of an independent kingdom of Vaṅga or East Bengal in the 7th century A. D. which was later on brought under the domination of Śaśāṅka, the Gaudādhīpa, the contemporary of Harshavardhana.

Another class of gold coins, which also circulated in Bengal in the 7th century A.D. after Śaśāṅka, are the so-called Imitation Gupta coins. These are imitated from the Archer type coins of the Guptas, and are very rude and barbarous in manufacture. The weight is heavier than that of Ardha-Suvarṇa, or these coins may be based upon the Suvarṇa of 100 ratīs. The legends are almost illegible; the names of only two of these kings have been read—one by Dr. Bhattashali³⁴ and the other by Mr. Allan,³⁵ *viz.*, Sudhanyāditya and Prithuvīraja. From the affinity of these coins with those of Samācāradeva, we can reasonably infer that after the fall of Śaśāṅka's Empire, his vassal of East Bengal, perhaps a successor of Samācāradeva, founded a line of independent kings and to justify their claim performed the Aśvamedha which was perhaps commemorated by putting in the sign of a horse on some of the coins of Sudhanyāditya. But the days of gold coinage in Bengal were numbered. The degradation that set in, in its manufacture, and the debasement in its composition clearly testify to

³³ Basak, R. G.—History of North-Eastern India, p. 135.

³⁴ Bhattashali, N. K.—Numismatic Supp., XXXVII (Numismatic Soc. of India).

³⁵ Allan, J.—Numismatic Chronicle, Fifth series, Vol. XIV—"Indian Coins acquired by British Museum," p. 7.

the hard struggle that ultimately led to its complete stoppage.

This was the period of numismatic degradation all over Northern India, and Bengal which had put forth a hard struggle was no exception to the prevalent condition that subsisted throughout the country. Evidently the sources of supply for the precious metals had dried up, and this led to a shrinkage of metallic currency.

With the Palas the standard coins were of silver and these are called *drammas* in the inscriptions. These are similar in fabric to the Ādivarāha coins of Mihira Bhoja, and bear traces of Sassanian origin. Fourteen such coins were excavated by Mr. K. N. Dikshit³⁶ from Pāhārpur, and a few rude specimens are also preserved in the Calcutta Museum. Five copper coins were also discovered at Pāhārpur by Mr. Dikshit. Three of them had the type—bull on the obverse, and 3 fish on the reverse,³⁷ and these date from the early period of the Pala Empire c. 9th century A.D. He also discovered another specimen of the silver coin, well-known as the Vighrahapāla dramma.³⁸ There were three Vighraha Pālas in Bengal and the attribution of the coins had been a matter of difficulty. The coin under discussion was assigned to Vighraha Pāla I (c. 860 A.D.), the father of Nārāyana Pāla by Mr. Dikshit on account of its association with other finds of that time. The date of the third Vighraha Pāla (c. 1050 A.D.) is rather too late and has been discarded. So his conclusion is that the 4th Pala King Vighraha Pāla I, the successor of Deva Pāla and the father of Nārāyana Pāla issued the coins known to the Numismatists as the Vighraha Pāla drammas. These coins have a marked similarity with the Ādi-Varāha drammas of the Pratihāra King Mihira Bhoja I (c. 840-90 A.D.) and point to their contemporaneity. Mr. Dikshit in this connection comes to a

³⁶ Exhibited by Rai Bahadur K. N. Dikshit in the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society, 1929.

³⁷ Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report, 1927-28, p. 104.

³⁸ Smith, V.—Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum, p. 239.

conclusion which seems to be the only way out of the difficulty :
 “ The debased coins of Vighrahapāla type which Vincent Smith assigns to the second or third Vighrahapāla may have been issued after the original by other rulers, not necessarily even of the Pala dynasty as it is unlikely that only the three Vighrahapālas out of some 12 rulers of the Pala dynasty issued coins.”³⁹ A similar practice is found in India as well as outside in the case of some well-known issues. The tetradrachms bearing Alexander’s types and names were struck for nearly 3 centuries after his death.⁴⁰ In India, the East India Company assumed the control of the Bengal mints in 1765 after the battle of Buxar, but they continued to issue coins in the name of Shah Alām. The gold and silver coins of the Benares mint from 1190-1229 Hegira all bear the regnal date 17, Julūs year 19 for Murshidābād mint and 45 for Furrakhābād.⁴¹ So this seems to be the practice during the Pala dynasty ; the gradual degradation that set in at last ended in converting them into mere coins of account. The number in circulation must have been very small, if not totally non-existent ; and this conclusion is forced upon us as a result of the discussion of the monetary conditions under the Senas. Some of the inscriptions of the Sena dynasty refer to a coin called Kapardaka Purāṇa, *e.g.*, the village Vallahitthā had an annual income of 500 Kapardaka Purāṇas as mentioned in the Naihati grant of Vallāla Sena of the 1st half of the 12th century ; the Tarpandighi Plates of Lakshmaṇa Sena of the 12th century refer to a piece of land which yielded an annual income of 150 Kapardaka Purāṇas ; and there are such other references in the inscriptions of this dynasty. Purāṇa is the traditional denomination of the silver coins of India but there is a great uncertainty about the significance of the term Kapardaka Purāṇa. The interpretation of Dr. Bhandarkar that a Kapardaka Purāṇa is a coin, “ a purāṇa which is shaped like a kapardaka or

³⁹ Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report, 1927-28, p. 104.

⁴⁰ Macdonald, G.—The Evolution of Coinage, p. 44.

⁴¹ Brown, C. J.—The Coins of India, pp. 103-04.

cowrie " cannot be accepted as I have shown elsewhere.⁴² The cowrie was used as a medium of exchange, and became a generic expression for a coin as we find in the legend '*Vaṭasvaka*'—the *Vaṭa* of the Asvakas referring to their coins; and similar was the case with the *Kārshāpaṇas* of copper which became a general expression for coins whether of gold, silver or copper.⁴³ The use of cowrie dates from a very early time, and there is no doubt that Bengal had a predilection for it. In the Mediaeval period before the discovery of America, silver became very scarce in the West and this was reflected in India also, as she derived her supply of this metal generally from outside. The feudal lords of Europe were compelled to issue coins of very poor quality. "The thin and miserable fabric of their coins tells an unmistakeable tale of scarcity of silver."⁴⁴ The world supply of silver in those days was "drawn chiefly from Central Asia." The rise of the Arab power and the consequent disturbances in Central Asia interrupted trade between India and the West by land and sea, and must have curtailed, if they did not cut off completely the import of silver from abroad.⁴⁵ The effect of the paucity of silver manifested itself in the *Pāla* coins which were very few in number and rude in shape,⁴⁶ and at last culminated in the almost total extinction of silver coinage from the currency of the *Senas*. It can very well be inferred that the silver currency had been supplanted by other mediums of exchange, *e.g.*, copper and preferably cowries. The silver coins thus became a mere theoretical currency, and must have been very scarce; and had practically fallen out of use. It is this state of affairs that is reflected in the writings of *Minhas-us-Siraj*, the author of *Tabaquat-i-Nasiri*, who visited *Lakhnauti* in 641 Hegira,—“there

⁴² Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VIII, 1932—"Kapardaka Purāṇa," by S. K. Chakraborty.

⁴³ Rapson E. J.—Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc., p. clxxix.

Bhandarkar, D. R.—Ancient Indian Numismatics, Lecture II, pp. 80-83.

⁴⁴ Macdonald, G.—Evolution of Coinage, p. 53.

⁴⁵ Brown, C. J.—The Coins of India, p. 55.

⁴⁶ Smith, V.—Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, p. 239.

was no money current in Bengal till the Muhammadans carried it down with them on the conquest of the country in A.D. 1203."⁴⁷ The only way of reconciling this statement with the condition of things in those days is to "accept the cowrie as the principal, and perhaps for all practical purposes, as the only medium of exchange." This conclusion is fortified by the fact that Kāhan (the Bengali word for Sanskrit Kārshāpaṇa and Pali Kahāpaṇa—the generic term for coins) is always equated to a number of cowries, and the minute sub-divisions of the cowrie also point to their importance and general use in currency.⁴⁸ So we can reasonably conclude that the Kapardaka or Cowrie had become by the time of the Senas the principal medium of exchange; and *purāṇa* the age-old general expression for silver coin was most probably the theoretical standard of values. All exchange transactions were carried on with cowries, and a certain varying number came to be equated to the silver coin *purāṇa* which had supplanted the term *dramma*, most probably because there was no *purāṇa* coin in actual circulation, just as the rupee of silver is linked up with gold currency of England though there is no such gold coin in circulation at present. The reference to *purāṇa* converts the cowrie to a token currency, and the number of cowries that went to a *purāṇa* depended on market fluctuations; the rupee of Bengal in 1740 was exchanged for 2,400 and in 1840 for 6,500.⁴⁹ The mention of the word *Purāṇa* in the inscriptions without the word *Kapardaka* joined to it undoubtedly refers to a number of cowries equated to that theoretical silver coin and the addition of the word *Kapardaka* was generally made to make the expression explicit, so that there may be no doubt about the correct significance of the currency referred to. Thus Bengal had her problems different from the other parts of India. In the 7th century she was

⁴⁷ Thomas, E.—Ancient Indian Weights (Num. Orient.), p. 37, foot-note 5.

⁴⁸ Thomas, E.—Ancient Indian Weights—"Thus 3 Krant or 4 Kak, 5 Bat or 9 Dant, 27 Dam or 32 Dar, 80 Til or 800 Sans are each equivalent to one Kauri"—p. 19, foot-note 3.

⁴⁹ Elliot, W.—Coins of Southern India, p. 59, foot-note 2.

fortunate to revive a gold currency which had gone out of use in other parts of India, while in the 11th and 12th centuries she had become to such an extent bereft of the precious metals that she was compelled to take to the expedient of barter, or cowries as mediums of exchange though she could not altogether forget the traditional monetary system of the country.

LECTURE III

THE CURRENCY SYSTEMS AND THE METALLIC RATIOS

A modern state with a metallic currency ordinarily selects, either silver or gold, for its standard coins which are legal tender to an unlimited extent; and these are linked up with the token coins in copper, bronze and other such cheap metals. At present however many of these states have been compelled against their wishes to go off from gold, but there is no doubt that the best arrangement is to have metallic currency in which the intrinsic value coincides with the face value, at least as regards the standard coins. The token coins always deviate from the face value, and the price is kept up at a higher level, only with a rigid control over the number of such coins, actually put in circulation. The market ratio of the metals has nothing to do with the relationship between the different metallic coins concerned. In a modern currency organisation, the state has a very difficult duty to discharge; sometimes it sacrifices its interest by introducing a free coinage in the mint, though this has practically fallen out of use, and has to keep a sharp eye on the monetary necessities of the public, specially the commercial classes. A modern state has an advantage over the primitive society. To counterfeit the coins is far more difficult with the milled edge and the beautiful devices on the obverse and the reverse than in olden times; this necessitated a very heavy punishment for counterfeiting the coins. Kautilya lays down—“When a person causes a counterfeit coin to be manufactured, or accepts it, or exchanges it, he shall be fined 1,000 panas; he who enters a counterfeit coin into the treasury shall be put to death.”¹ This clearly shows the solicitude of the state to protect itself as well as the members of the public from any loss. This dishonest practice must have been highly lucrative; otherwise no one would have cared to face the risk, and obviously

¹ Kautilya's Arthasāstra, p. 256.

the face value due to the action of the state must have been far greater than its intrinsic value. Preference is shown to the "current coin of a Pana," because it was far more profitable to tamper with the silver coins than the copper ones. But the regulations as laid down in Arthaśāstra clearly testify to the fact that coinage was a source of profit to the state; it became far more so, when the state deviated from the strict path of integrity. Kautilya lays down the rules, which he surely deemed to be the best for the ideal state that cared for its own interest as well as of the people under its charge, and might have adopted his regulations as regards the currency system; but there can be no doubt that many of the states or kings deviated from the customary practice, either due to economic exigencies or led by a dishonest motive of self-interest, pure and simple. Kautilya, however, makes no distinction between metallic standard and the token coins, and it is evident that the state imposed no limitation on the token coin to bluster up its face value, and the same principles guided the silver, copper, gold or coinages in other metals. But the non-metallic tokens had a limited circulation, and the greater its use, the lower must have been the economic level reached by the state concerned.

It is evident from the Arthaśāstra that coinage was a source of profit to the state and it is referred to as one of the ten kinds of revenue collected from the mines.² But private individuals also could take the bullion to the mint for coinage. The State Goldsmith is enjoined to employ artisans to manufacture the coins from the bullion of citizens and country-people,³ and he must return coins of the same weight and of the same quality as that of the bullion received. The loss in manufacture is calculated as $\frac{1}{64}$ of the weight of the metal,⁴ and this had to be advanced in addition to the bullion to be converted to coins. The state however charged not only brassage but also seigniorage

² *Ibid.*, p. 100.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

in such cases and there are three distinct items referred to. First of all, the Vyāji of 5 p.c., most probably in kind, *e.g.*, 5 p.c. of the bullion more than needed for coinage, the 8 p.c. as the Rūpika, the amount due to the state, and $\frac{1}{8}$ p.c. as Pārīkshika, the testing charge. So the state derived an income when it minted the coins on its own account, and levied a good percentage as seigniorage when the bullion was advanced for the purpose by its subjects. The amount paid to the manufacturer was generally $\frac{1}{16}$ for the silver Dharāṇa, and for the gold Suvarṇa $\frac{1}{8}$ of the Dharāṇa, *i.e.*, double the amount charged for the silver coin, but the fees generally varied and the maximum was twice the above amount.

The Rūpadarsāka or the Examiner of Coins was a very important official. He realised the fines and the taxes due to the state and it was his duty to examine the coins whether they were genuine or counterfeit. The state was bound to accept the coins manufactured by it "even after the lapse of a number of years,"⁵ unless these were worn out or had undergone diminution (Kshīnaparisīraṇa), perhaps the result of clipping.

The currency is divided into 2 sections: the Vyāvahārikam and the Kośapraveśyām. The Kośapraveśyām coins that were admissible to the Treasury were evidently the standard coins, and the Vyāvahārikam, the currency as a medium of exchange, according to the commentator refers to the token coins, most probably non-metallic.

The single-metallic currency is the easiest to manipulate, and it seems to be practically certain, in view of our previous discussions, that copper was adopted for the purpose of coinage in India before other metals, and many of the ancient kingdoms and tribal states adhered to it without any change throughout their political existence. Considering the higher appreciation of copper and the restricted use of metallic currency in ancient times, the single metallism of copper seems to be

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

more natural than that of silver, and its prevalence among the vast majority of the states that had been true to their indigenous issues clearly testifies as to the correctness of this view. The coins with Types are later than the punch-marked variety, and all such coins from Ayodhyā (c. 150 B.C.—100 A.D.), Avantī (dating from c. 200 B.C.), Kosam (c. 2nd century B.C.), and Taxila (even going back to 350 B.C. to the Christian era) are in copper. In Eran, the specimens of all the four different classes of coins have been found to be in copper, viz., the punch-marked, cast, die-struck, and the inscribed which are surely the latest; and such examples can be multiplied. That some of them used silver in the punch-marked stage, we have no doubt. We find that the system of punching the coins prevailed up to the Christian era in Northern India and much later about 300 A.D. in the South; and it seems that while the silver coins were punched, the copper ones were either die-struck or cast simultaneously. The reference to the *signati argenti* presented by Āmbhi to Alexander at Taxila in 326 B.C., as related by Quintus Curtius clearly establishes the existence of silver coins of punch-marked variety in that city, but all the die-struck coins discussed by Smith are of copper. A class of silver punch-marked coins from Kosala has been discussed by Mr. Durgaprasad.⁶ So we find that while some of the states had copper throughout, others, which had silver in the earlier stage came back to copper only, but the exact identification of the states which had copper coinage and did not adopt silver at all is not possible, because only a few of the punch-marked coins give us a clue as to their provenance. The preference for copper may be due to various causes, viz., the paucity of silver, the difficulty of manipulating a bimetallic system and the economic conditions of the contemporary society. We can therefore postulate that Kauśāmbī and Avantī had all along copper coins, or at least those that had been identified; while Kosala and Taxila had

⁶ Numismatic Supp., No. XLV, p. 11, Pls. I-III.

the one metallic system of copper as they passed through the punch-marked stage in their evolution of coinage. As regards the Northern Indian Tribes, we find many of them staunch supporters of copper. The Ārjunāyanas, Asvakas, Sibis, Uddehikas, Mahārāja Janapada, Rājanya Janapada, Mālavas and the Nāgas issued copper coins only; at least we have not been able to identify any of their silver issues. The Mālava as well as the Nāga coins are very small. The weight of the Nāga coins varies from 6·3 to 42 grains; the Mālava coins are smaller still, the weight varying from 1·7 to 40·3 grains. We can reasonably infer that these people had no necessity for silver; their currency needs were amply satisfied by copper, as they found it to be valuable enough to be divided into so minute pieces, and there can also be no doubt that the other tribes which were a little better placed economically, might also do without that precious metal, *viz.*, silver. It is however difficult to ascertain how much of their partiality for copper was due to the poverty of the people concerned, or the difficulty of managing a double-metallic currency. Many of the states and tribes apparently preferred one metallic currency either of copper, lead or silver. It is however apparent that with the lapse of time the copper coins of a tribe which stuck to one metallic system became heavier, and this is surely the result of economic development or depreciation in the price of copper, or both acting together. The Yaudheya coins of Bull and Elephant type⁷ dating from about the beginning of the Christian era vary from 31·5 grains to 71·1 grains; the second class belonging to the 2nd century A.D., the Svāmī Brāhmaṇyadeva Type has an weight 109·9 grains to 178·5 grains; while the third class, the Warrior Type of the 3rd or 4th century A.D. are heavier still; the heaviest piece in Smith's Catalogue No. 26 is 181·2 grains. Analogous is the case with the Kuniṇḍas.⁸ The Stag Type coins of the second century B.C. vary from 24 grains to 144·45

⁷ Smith, V.—Catalogue of Coins in I.M., pp. 180-83.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 168-70.

grains, while the weight of one of the Chatreśvara Type coins which are decidedly much later, goes up to 221·6 grains. In Taxila, the double-die coins of the Lion and Elephant Type are heavier, and surely later than the single-die coins of the same locality. Generally, therefore, we find a gradual increase in the weight of the copper coins in the case of those which used only this metal for coinage, as well as those which had copper side by side with silver, *e.g.*, the Kuninḍas. This gradual increase must be ordinarily accounted for with reference to the two causes noted previously—the economic progress and the diminution in the price of the metal. Another factor which contributed to the deviation from the usual standard weight, we shall discuss later on.

Lead occupies an intermediate position between copper and silver, and its incidence in certain parts of Andhra Empire, independently of any other metal may be due to the want of silver in the locality which finds copper too cheap for coinage, but cannot take to silver for its relatively high value as compared with the economic condition of the people to be served. The coinages of lead “have been found exclusively in Andhradeśa the home of the race, in the Anantpur and Cuddapah Districts, in the region of the Coromandel Coast, in the Chitaldrug District and in the Karwar District.”⁹

The Vimakas and the Vṛshnis who flourished perhaps in the Sunga times in the 2nd century B.C. issued silver coins only; at least up to the present time, no copper coins of these tribes have been identified. It seems to be a peculiar case, for the ordinary practice which is based upon progressive development in the economic condition is to move from copper to silver. Taking to silver by the Vṛshnis and the Vimakas, by omitting the intermediate stage of copper, may only be explained by postulating that these tribes did not take to metallic currency till a very high economic development had been attained, and the

⁹ Rapson, E. J.—Catalogue of Coins of the Andhras, etc., p. *clxxxii*.

neighbouring states had become acclimatised to silver; and they did not feel the necessity of linking up silver in currency with an inferior metal like copper. However these tribes had not very extensive territories and were not also very powerful; and perhaps their currency history was very short. This will explain the paucity of their coins; and only a few silver ones had been discovered, and their copper ones have not yet been found, or have escaped detection.

The two-metallic currency in India has not any affinity with the bimetallic system of the economists of modern times; it however approximates to parallel metallism. The ancient coins of India are so rude in manufacture that any sharp difference in the metallic ratio as established in the currency compared with that prevailing in the market would give a fillip to counterfeiting. Ordinarily therefore, except in a strong or well-organised state, the practice would be not to deviate from the market ratio of the metals, in case we have the currency system based on either copper and silver, or copper and gold. In the early stage some of the states had already adopted copper and silver for the punch-marked variety; and though some of them deviated from the practice later on, yet it may reasonably be inferred that the majority of them found it suited to their currency needs, in spite of the complications introduced in working a currency system based on two metals with a fluctuation in their relative values dependant upon the market conditions, specially as, for the supply of silver, India had mainly to rely on foreign imports. The Audumbaras, the Yaudheyas, the extensive Magadhan Empire, the states in the Punjab near about Taxila and many other states and tribes were habituated to the parallel metallism of copper and silver and the implications of this practice on the weights of the coins shall be taken up in the latter part of this lecture.

With the Kushanas the position of silver was taken up by gold, due to world shortage of silver; though in other parts of the country that had not a sufficient supply of gold or were not

wealthy enough, the rulers were constrained to stick to the older practice of silver or copper. This is exactly the reason why the Western Satraps struck hemi-drachms in inferior silver with a large amount of alloy.¹⁰

The Roman *aureus*, the gold coin occupied the position of the English *sovereign* of modern times, and specially as the exports from India were paid for in Roman gold coins, the Kushanas wanted "to win acceptance for their new gold currency by placing it on an equality with the popular Roman gold."¹¹ The coins of Kujūla Kadphises are all of copper but Wima Kadphises introduced gold for the first time; and these had three denominations, the Double-Stater, the Stater or Dīnāra (the Roman *aureus* of 124 grs.) and the Quarter-Stater. It was this system which was imitated in toto by the Great Kushana Emperor Kanishka and his successors Huvishka and Vāsudeva. The Kushana power declined after the death of Vāsudeva in 220 A.D.; their descendants however held the Kabul valley till 425 A.D. and they issued "the degenerate copies of the gold coins of Kanishka and Vāsudeva."

The Gupta period from 320 to 480 A.D. is one of Hindu revival and is marked by a great advance in literature, arts and sciences. "The splendid gold coinage of the Guptas, with its many types and infinite varieties and its inscriptions in classical Sanscrit, now appearing on Indian coins for the first time, are the finest examples of this kind we possess."¹² The Guptas took as the model for their earliest coinage the standing King obverse and Ardokhsho reverse of the Kushanas; this diety was identified with Lakshmī and is represented seated on a throne with a cornucopia on the reverse, though "the highest expression of the Gupta numismatic art" is found in some of the specimens of the Lyrist Type. Samudra Gupta issued only gold coins but with Chandra Gupta II began the copper issues in abundance. But

¹⁰ Brown, C. J.—The Coins of India, p. 34.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 43.

in other parts of the empire which had been habituated to silver coins, he continued the older practice, *e.g.*, after the overthrow of the Western Kshatrapas in the last part of the 4th century A.D., he struck silver coins for the regions newly conquered, "modelled on those of his predecessors."¹³ Kumāra Gupta I, his son, however, did not confine his silver issues to the Western Provinces only, but extended them to the Central Provinces of the empire, *i.e.*, the Gangetic Valley. We have, therefore, from this time onward a three-metallic system based on the three metals, side by side—gold, silver and copper; and there are reasons to suppose that the Gupta Emperors treated their silver issues as mere token coins, and by linking them up with gold gave them a higher appreciation, much higher than the metallic ratio of gold and silver would warrant.

Skanda Gupta for the first time introduced the traditional Suvarṇa standard of 80 ratis, but it is doubtful whether there was any change in the ratios between the coins of different metals, as the increase in the weight of the gold coins was followed by a "corresponding depreciation in the purity of the gold." The successors of Skanda Gupta continued for generations the gold coins the Dīnāras or Suvarṇas, though there was a gradual deterioration in design and execution; and most probably the silver issues ceased with Skanda Gupta, at least direct descendants of Skanda Gupta do not appear to have issued silver; and perhaps this was the result of the gradual decline of the Gupta Empire after him.

In the South also, we have the trimetallic system: gold, lead or potin, or if available silver in the place of potin; though in the Mediaeval period "gold and copper were the metals used almost exclusively."¹⁴ In the North the two-metallic currency of silver and copper was the prevalent rule. Now and then however an ambitious monarch might have gold issues which however came to an end within a few generations, after passing

¹³ Allan—Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, p. lxxxvi.

¹⁴ Brown, C. J.—The Coins of India, p. 57.

through a process of gradual deterioration. Not only the system of manufacture is crude but the metal is always much alloyed, clearly pointing to a paucity of precious metals, and also perhaps, want of any universal practice as to purity and weight, due to the fact that there was no imperial power embracing a large part of the country and able to force its coinage on the attention of the lesser rulers.

The manipulation of the single metal currency system is the easiest; but a factor of complication is introduced when 2, 3 or more metals are used for coinage side by side. The value of one metal in terms of another is always a fluctuating quantity, depending on the demand and supply of the metals concerned. Constant ratios for gold, silver and copper are impossible of attainment, as these market ratios are dependent on factors which cannot be controlled by the state; though the state adopted various devices to minimise the hardship consequent upon a violent fluctuation of the ratios. We have also to mark that the relative ratios, *e.g.*, between gold and silver, or between silver and copper had been very much different from those of modern times in the various periods of Indian History. In ancient India, the ratios varied not only in different periods but also among the states and tribes which were contemporaneous. The reason is to be found not only in the difference of the economic level reached by the peoples concerned but also the availability of the particular metal, *e.g.*, Southern India which had a brisk trade with Imperial Rome had an accession of gold that Northern could never expect; and this foreign trade with the indigenous supply from her mines led to the partiality for gold in the South which subsisted down to the British period when gold was demonetised by Act XVII of 1835 which legislated "that no gold coin shall henceforth be a legal tender of payment in any of the territories of the East India Company."¹⁵

¹⁵ Section 9, Act XVII of 1835.

It is only recently that silver has rapidly depreciated in terms of gold. In 1766 the market ratio between gold and silver in Bengal was 14·81 : 1, but at present silver has so much depreciated that the ratio is approximately 70 : 1. The deterioration had not been always uniform; there had been set-backs, and the small percentage of variation in the different parts of the world had affected the export or import of precious metals, and determined the nature of the foreign trade of each country in relation with others. An example from recent times may be cited to show how very difficult it is for the state to influence the ratio. In 1766 Government introduced a legal ratio of 16·45 : 1 for gold and silver. But as the market ratio was 14·81 : 1, the concurrent circulation of gold and silver coins was not feasible. Government then moved to the old market ratio and fixed the legal ratio at 14·81 : 1 in 1769. But in the meantime, the market ratio had changed to 14 : 1 in India and 14·61 : 1 in Europe; and the second attempt also thus failed. Government therefore at first stopped the coinage of gold in 1788, and when they resumed the practice, they gave up as hopeless the experiment to link up the two metals by a fixed ratio, and left the Mohur and the Rupee to circulate at their market value.¹⁶ A third attempt was made in 1793 by establishing a ratio of 14·76 : 1—again different from market ratio, and this attempt did not fare any the better. This will illustrate the difficulty of manipulating a currency system of two metals, if it is desired to establish a real bimetallism. Slight fluctuations might not have the same decided effect on the money market; but in the long run, if it persists, the influence must be felt.

The oldest currency organisation with two metals is that of the punch-marked variety which came to be introduced in Magadha after the Buddha,¹⁷ and perhaps earlier in Taxila region.

¹⁶ Ambedkar, B. R.—The Problem of the Rupee, p. 14.

¹⁷ Law, B. C.—Buddhist Studies, p. 384 (Extract I).—The *Kahāpaṇa* of Rājagṛha was equal to 20 *Māshakas*; taking a *Māshaka* to be of 5 ratis, the weight of the coin was evidently 80 ratis, i.e., it is a copper *Kārshāpaṇa* and, therefore, it is differentiated from *Nīlkaḥāpaṇa* of 32 ratis.

The traditional weight of a silver Purāṇa or Dharāṇa was 32 ratis and the copper Kārshāṇa 80 ratis. Were these coins linked up in any approximate ratio? In Arthaśāstra the copper coin called Māshaka is $\frac{1}{16}$ of the silver coin.¹⁸ The whole arrangement as depicted by Kauṭilya is not based on the actual condition of things, but is generally of an idealistic type; and it is also true that “the various systems of weight used in India combine uniformity of scale with immense variations in the weight of units.”¹⁹ If we accept the later identification of the biggest copper coin with $\frac{1}{16}$ of the silver standard coin, the ratio between silver and copper would be 40 : 1, though we can not expect it to remain constant for any length of time. This might have been the ratio when the metallic currency of silver and copper was first introduced but with the lapse of time, the cheapening of copper must lead to, if the ratio is to be kept constant, the augmentation of the weight of the copper coin. If we refer to the contemporary coins of Kauṭilya's time, we find that the actual coins in circulation in 3rd century B.C. are surely different in weight from those proposed by Kauṭilya. The Patna and Gharoghat coins are undoubtedly contemporary with the Mauryas²⁰ and some of the coins which had been identified as those of Chandra Gupta Maurya by Dr. Jayaswal and also of Asoka²² are surely based on the traditional weight system of 32 ratis and not 80 ratis as put forward by Kauṭilya. Moreover the punch-marked copper coins did not deviate from the traditional weight system of 80 ratis; a later coin in copper with Types on both the sides—the full front of the Elephant on the obverse and a Horse with a number of symbols on the reverse²³ has been ascribed to Daśaratha by Jayaswal who has deciphered the almost illegible

¹⁸ Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra, p. 98.

¹⁹ Rapson, E. J.—Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc., p. clxxx, quoted from the Imperial Gazetteer of India.

²⁰ The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. V, 1919, Parts I & IV.

²¹ Durgaprasad—Numismatic Supp., p. 40. No. XLV.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 43; Symbol No. 36.

²³ Cunningham, A.—Coins of Ancient India, Fig. 5, Pl. 3, pp. 62 and 63.

name of Daśaratha in the Kharoshthī legend on the reverse.²⁴ These coins are of two varieties—one weighing from 114 to 121 grains. If we take into account the nature of the metal and the system of manufacture with devices as compared with the longevity of the punchmarked ones and the long period of its circulation, we can have very little doubt that it is the copper coin of 80 ratis—the Kārshāpaṇa of the Maurya period. The reliability of our inference is strengthened when we consider that the ratio of silver and copper in India had pointed to a greater appreciation of copper throughout the ages as compared with the West. In the opinion of Momsen,²⁵ Rome from the first had a fixed ratio for the relative value of copper and silver 1 : 250, but even in the 13th century A.D. in India,²⁶ the ratio was only 1 : 80; that India had no such fixed ratio as in Rome is evidenced by the gradual augmentation in weight of the later copper coins, *e.g.*, among the Yaudheyas. We can naturally expect that the relative value of copper must go down with the lapse of time, and this surely necessitated the massive coins from the beginning of the Christian era onwards.

In this connection, I have to refer to the deduction of Dr. Bhandarkar who takes the ratio between gold and copper to be 56·7 : 1 in the Early Mediaeval period. This is palpably wrong and on mature consideration, we are bound to reject it.²⁷ The Kārshāpaṇa which he takes to be of copper is surely the silver coin which was known as such in the Eastern as well as the Central Provinces of the Gupta Empire. The inscriptions clearly show that in Mālwā, Kathiwār, North Konkan, Nasik and Poona Districts, etc., the silver coins were called Kārshāpaṇas from the time of Nahapāna and downwards.²⁸ This is supported by the statement of Nārada who takes Kārshāpaṇa to be a silver coin of the Southern country and equates it to an Aṇḍika of which 48

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Palgrave's Dictionary of Political Economy, Vol. I, p. 422—'Copper Money.'

²⁶ Numismatic Supp., 1924, p. 38. Messrs. Nelson Wright and Nevill (Num. Soc. of India).

²⁷ Bhandarkar, D. R.—Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 185.

²⁸ Law, B. C.—Buddhist Studies—Numismatic Data in Pali Literature, p. 418.

pieces were equivalent to a *Dīnāra*.²⁹ The author of *Nārada Smṛti* lived in the 5th century A.D. and we can reasonably infer that the *Kārshāpaṇas* were nothing but the silver hemi-drachms of the *Traikūṭakas* and the Imperial Guptas. The maximum weight of a silver coin (in the British Museum) circulating in the Western Provinces of the empire under Kumāra Gupta I is No. 303 which weighs 35·7 grains.³⁰ Of the *Traikūṭakas* some of the coins weigh more than 35 grains.³¹ So we can reasonably take the weight of the *Kārshāpaṇa* or *Aṇḍika* to be 36 grains and this gives us a ratio of 1 : 14 between gold and silver in Southern India; and this is not at all an unreasonable conclusion. Bhandarkar's ratio of 1 : 56·7 between gold and copper establishes a relationship of 1 : 4 between silver and copper on the ratio deduced from *Nārada* in the 5th century A.D. and 1 : 5·7 if we accept the ratio of 1 : 10 in the 1st quarter of the 2nd century A.D.³² which however as I shall show, is actually a little more in favour of gold. During the Muhammadan period in the 13th century A.D., before the world had been inundated with silver from America, the ratio of copper to silver was 80 : 1 and it is not reasonable to suppose that in the 6th century the appreciation of copper was 20 times greater than in the 13th century, even though our data are not sufficient to establish an approximate ratio in the different periods. However there can be no doubt that in spite of casual variations, the trend from earliest times had been towards the cheapening of copper in terms of silver. If our conclusion be reasonably correct for the early punch-marked coins, then the ratio between silver and copper changed from 1 : 40 to 1 : 80 in the course of 1,500 years from the Maurya times to the Early Sultans of Delhi. In no case can the movement be deemed to be uniform; there were foreign invasions, internecine wars and the varying fortunes of the foreign trade to be taken into account;

²⁹ Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 231-32.

³⁰ Allan, —Catalogue of Coins, Gupta Dynasty, etc., p. 95.

³¹ Rupson, E. J. —Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc., pp. 198-201.

³² Rupson, E. J. —*Ibid.*, p. clxxxv.

but re-adjustments were effected sooner or later. Such periods of crises are found in Indian History immediately after the downfall of the Mauryas, with the establishment of the Kushanas, and the chaos and anarchy as a result of the Huna invasion under Toramāṇa and Mihiragula. Noteworthy changes were effected in the currency system in these distinct stages ; and such others can be detected as a result of careful study. The downfall of the Mauryas led to a falling back on copper. This was perhaps due to paucity of silver, and might have led to the introduction of gold under the Kushanas, as well as the comparative abundance of gold as the result of a favourable balance of trade with the Roman Empire. The Huna invasion disorganised the currency arrangement completely, and gold which had been so popular under the Guptas went out of use and the period of degradation commenced. The inferiority and the paucity of the coinage of the Mediaeval period must be ascribed to the prevalent state of anarchy brought about by the incessant quarrels between the petty states. The small output of gold within the country and the scarcity of silver brought about by the rise of the Arab power which interrupted the trade between India and Central Asia, the source of the world supply of silver in those days, led to queer expedients, such as the use of billon by the Rajput states.

A portion of North-West India was included in the Persian Empire under Darius I and we know that the relative value of gold and silver in the Indian Satrapy³³ was 1:8. The Imperial mint of Persia,³⁴ however, maintained a ratio of 1:13·3. It naturally led to the importation of silver from the West in exchange of the Indian gold, of which she had an ample supply. This explains the paucity of golden *darics* in India, while the silver *sigloi* or *shekels* “are frequently offered for sale by Indian dealers” and “that is precisely what might be expected from the working of economic law.”³⁵

³³ Cunningham, A.—Coins of Ancient India, p. 5.

³⁴ Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 343.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

We have definite data about the relative values of the precious metals in the first quarter of the 2nd century A.D. from the Nāsik Inscription of Rṣabhadatta of the year 42, referring to a large gift to the Gods and Brahmanas amounting to 70,000 Kārshāpaṇas equal to 2,000 Suvarṇas. The year 42 undoubtedly refers to Śaka era and it is therefore 120 A.D. At that time 35 Kārshāpaṇas were equal in value to one Suvarṇa. Prof. Bhandarkar refers to the traditional weight system and assigns 32 ratis to Kārshāpaṇa and 80 ratis to Suvarṇa and works out the ratio as 1:14. But when we remember that Rṣabhadatta was the son-in-law of Nahapāna, the Śaka Satrap of Western India, we are bound to refer to the silver coins of that monarch; and these are apparently imitated as regards size, weight and fabric, from the hemi-drachms of the Graeco-Indian Kings. We must therefore refer to the silver coins of that time; and from the extant coins, we are justified in taking 36 grains as the maximum weight of a Kārshāpaṇa of Rṣabhadatta. The Suvarṇa may refer to the coin or the weight. But as there were no Suvarṇa coins of 80 ratis actually in circulation before Skanda Gupta, therefore Rapson refers to the Dīnāra of 124 grains, and he finds the ratio between gold and silver to be 1:10. The terms Dīnāra and Suvarṇa as coins can be referred to indiscriminately only when gold coins of these two weights were in circulation side by side. So it seems that we stand on a surer ground when we refer Suvarṇa not to any coin but the traditional weight of gold of 80 ratis. The result is approximately 1:8½. In the West also the relative value was approximately the same; under Augustus³⁶ in the first century D.A. the ratio was 1:9·3.

Vishṇugupta, the author of Pañchatantra, flourished in the 5th century A.D. and he was a man from the South. He is quoted by Raghunandana—

दीनार उक्तो विष्णुगुप्तेन—

दीनारो रोपकैरष्टाविंशत्या परिकीर्तितः ।

³⁶ Schoff, W. H.—Periplus, p. 219.

i.e., Twenty-eight Ropakas are equal to one Dīnāra and this was the prevalent relationship in the North, though the Dīnāra or the gold coin of the South, *i.e.*, Kaṇaju of old, was entirely different in weight and therefore Viṣṇugupta hastens to add

सुवर्णसप्ततितमो भागो रोपक उच्यते ।

i.e., a Ropaka is $\frac{1}{70}$ of the Suvarṇa weight of 80 ratīs. From his statement, we find that the Dīnāra weight was not the same all over the country. It was no doubt, ordinarily 124 grains, but it is also found to be, perhaps in the South, 58 grains. If the Ropaka be referred to the old silver coins of the earlier Guptas, the ratio is a little more than 1:8. So the conclusion is reasonable. In an inscription discovered at Baigram of the time of Kumāra Gupta I (413-55 A.D.), one gold Dīnāra is equal in value to 16 Ropakas. It is doubtful whether the Dīnāra in this inscription refers to the gold coins of 124 grains. It gives a ratio of 1:4·6 which seems to be in view of our previous discussion wholly untenable. Dīnāra as we have already seen sometimes stood for a gold coin of 58 grains and it was a general name for a gold coin, and differed in weight in the various periods as well as in the same period in the different parts of the country.³⁷ We have therefore to accept the weight of 58 grains for a Dīnāra which we find in Viṣṇugupta; this gives a ratio of 1:9·9 and this tallies with our previous conclusion. If we accept the ratio of 1:4·6 we shall be compelled to conclude that, either there were two greatly divergent ratios in the different parts of the country, or the silver Ropaka was only a token coin and it was kept up artificially at a high price by linking it up with gold. But when we consider the rude manufacture of the Gupta silver coins, and how easy it would be to counterfeit them, we have got to reject the inference that these were token coins, specially when we consider how very difficult it would be for an ancient state to work out a currency system based on three

³⁷ Bhandarkar, D. R.—*Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 184, 204.

metals, except on the principle of parallel metallism. So the approximate ratio of $1 : 8\frac{1}{2}$ or $1 : 9.9$ has everything in its favour and the slight variations may be ascribed to various factors, *viz.*, the purity of the metal, the amount of alloy introduced and their weights. With a slight variation, the ratio of $1 : 9$ maintained its ground, and in the 13th century with the advent of the Muslim Rule,³⁸ we have definitely to come to the conclusion that the relative value between gold and silver was $1 : 10$.

That parallel metallism was the prevalent system is manifest from the fact that the variation in the ratio between the different metals led to an adjustment in the weight of the coins, and the discrepancy between the weight systems and the actual weights of the extant coins can be satisfactorily explained on this basis. Cunningham³⁹ refers to 84 Indian copper single-die coins and these had an average weight of 140.8 grains, *i.e.*, these were Kārshāpanas of 80 ratis. But 27 double-die coins had an average weight of 183.3 grains and 24 Indo-Greek double die coins had an average of 180.5 grs. Evidently the double-die coins are later than the single-die ones, and the weight was heavier by about 40 to 43 grains. Consequently, we may infer that the additional weight was due to the cheapening of copper. But a change would be necessitated in the currency system of those states which had both the metals, silver and copper, in circulation side by side. If the copper coins are looked upon as standard ones, the cheapening of copper in terms of silver would necessitate a reduction in the weight of the silver coins, in case the weight of the copper coin is kept constant. This is likely to be the explanation for the variations in the weight of the silver punch-marked coins of the Peshwar hoard⁴⁰ which weigh from 42.09 to 56.73 grains. Here the lighter coins appear to be later in date and no other reasonable explanation is forthcoming for this fall in weight which was *slow and gradual*. If the

³⁸ Numismatic Supp., 1924, p. 38 (Num. Soc. of India).

³⁹ Cunningham, A.—Coins of Ancient India, p. 65.

⁴⁰ Bhandarkar, D. R.—Ancient Indian Numismatics, pp. 144, 115-23.

weight of the silver coins be kept constant, the result will be to increase the weight of the copper coins, and this may explain the heavy weight of the copper coins which are generally denominated as the massive ones,⁴¹ and are undoubtedly later than the lighter coins. Another arrangement is not to show any partiality, either to silver or copper, but to have coins of both the metals exactly of the same weight, circulating side by side. The bimetallic currency of Alexander the Great is based on this system, and a similar arrangement we find in Mediaeval India. The Ādi-varāha silver coins of Mihira Bhoja (840-90 A.D.) weigh about 61 grains and his copper coins also are of the same weight.⁴² These two classes of coins as also the Gadhaiyā currency (750-1100 A.D.) of Rajputana and Gujarat have exactly the same arrangement. If the number of copper coins to be offered in exchange of a silver coin be definitely fixed by the state, then the copper coins would be merely token ones. But the alternative, that the number of copper coins was determined by the market ratio of the metals, seems to be preferable.

A greater complication is introduced with the three-metallic currency. The Kushanas had gold and copper, and at first the Guptas also continued it. But the introduction of silver must have necessitated a readjustment. In the Mughal Empire of Akbar, the Mohur and the Rupee which were identical in weight bore a fixed ratio to the *dam*, the copper coin of the Empire; consequently, being fixed to the same thing, the Mohur and the Rupee circulated at a fixed rate.⁴³ A similar arrangement might have prevailed in the Gupta period with both the gold and silver coins being linked up to copper; a definite number being fixed for the precious metals in terms of copper. Otherwise the working of the tri-metallic currency system would be anything but easy. However the data are insufficient to enable us to assert anything definitely.

⁴¹ Smith, V.—Catalogue of Coins in I.M., p. 158.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 240-41.

⁴³ Ambedkar, B. R.—Problem of the Rupee, p. 3.

Various other factors contributed to the complexity of the currency organisation in ancient times. One of the most difficult and constant menace to the working of a well-defined system was the fear of debasement due to economic causes, the action of the state, or of private individuals. The economic causes, now and then, bring about a change in the metallic ratio, increasing or decreasing the price of one metal in terms of another; and we have discussed the devices adopted to adjust the currency system to the changing circumstances. But it is an undoubted fact that good coins generally testify to the prosperity of the land, *e.g.*, the Maurya, Kushana and the Gupta periods were surely flourishing ones as their coins clearly show. Debased coins signify economic or political disturbance. The gradual degeneration of the Gupta coinage in the latter part of the Gupta period is a clear evidence of the anarchic condition of the country, and debasement became the rule from Skanda Gupta downwards. In ancient times, the influence of the private character of the king on the currency was much greater than at present, and a ruler might be driven to tamper with the coins, either on account of economic stress, or from dishonest motives. His personal cupidity is an uncertain factor and might vary according to the character of the king. But economic difficulties which were sometimes the result of political disturbances were inexorable in their working and led to the introduction of a large amount of alloy to keep up the weight, or taking recourse to plating. A debased coinage of copper plated with silver with the names of Kumāra Gupta and Skanda Gupta are attributed to Vallabhī, “at a period when it was still a province of the Gupta Empire.”⁴⁴ Similar plated coins of the Parthian King Azoy have also been discovered. The state was compelled to take to this device for want of silver, specially as the people of the locality had been habituated to silver coins of certain weight and fabric. It cannot be based on the dishonest motive of the ruler, for the people sooner or later would have found out the trick and refused to accept them, as

⁴⁴ Rapson, E. J.—Indian Coins, p. 25 (s. 91).

they did in the time of Muhammad Tughlak. It was a genuine attempt to meet the local demand on the part of the state which laboured under the difficulty of procuring a sufficient amount of silver for the purpose of coinage and had to accept the system of plating. Private individuals when they took recourse to plating were surely actuated by the dishonest purpose of making profit at the expense of the people at large. The shroffs also knew how to guard themselves, and the result is the shroff-marks or short cuts on the face of the ancient coins. The state however was confronted with a greater difficulty when coins were counterfeited from baser metals. This practice was easier in ancient times; the absence of an elaborate device as also the milled edge made it an easy method of profiting oneself at the expense of the state and the people. It is for this reason that we find extremely heavy penalties prescribed by Kauṭilya for persons found guilty of counterfeiting the coins. But the inveterate habit of clipping was very difficult to be checked, and the only method of detecting it, in the absence of milled edge, was to weigh the coins. We can very well visualise the chances of deception under which the people laboured in those days. The state however was not idle and to help them appointed a Rūpadarśaka whose duty was to examine the coins and find out which were "worthy of being entered into the treasury" and he was entitled to charge a small commission, $\frac{1}{8}$ of a paṇa p.c. for his labour. But whatever be the difficulties of the currency system in ancient India, it is undoubtedly true that metallic currency had not replaced the older system of barter or non-metallic tokens to a great extent, and consequently the people could look with equanimity to an extent undreamt of at present, to the vagaries of the rulers and their manipulations, either compelled by economic forces or the result of personal cupidity.*

* Extension Lectures (Cal. Uni.) for 1937.

VIDYAPATI, THE MAITHILI POET, AND HIS LANGUAGE

BY

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INTRODUCTION

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ABBREVIATIONS and SIGNS :

ODBL. = Origin and Development of Bengali Language by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji,
D.Lit. (London), C. U.

VR. Account = Varṇa Rātnākara of Kavisekhara Jyotirīśvara by Prof. S. K. Chatterji
(Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Congress, Allahabad, 1926, Vol. II).

Mai. Gram.² — Maithili Grammar, Second Edition, by George Grierson (Asiatic Society
of Bengal).

Usual diacritical marks are employed to indicate the New Indo-Aryan Vowels and
Consonants, which are all put in italics :

a, indicates a short value of *a*; the long *ā* nasalized at times being indicated by *ā̃*;
vowels followed by *m̃* indicate nasalization of the vowels; *ɾ* = *ṛ*, while *ɽ* between vowels = *ṛ*.

In the history of letters and linguistics, Vidyāpati occupies a unique
place. A bard of Mithilā, living about the last half of the 14th century
and first half of the 15th, he held enthralled the whole of Eastern India

from the last quarter of the 15th century onwards, and served virtually as the model for their Brajabuli poetry.

(a) *Importance of Vidyāpati's Language.*

To the students of the Maithili language Vidyāpati is a great landmark. Only two names precede him—Umāpati of Pārijāta-Haraṇa (see Grierson, JBORS., March, 1917) and Jyotirīśvara of Varṇa-Ratnākara, and after him came a host, some bright, some hardly noticeable. With Professor S. K. Chatterji's account of the Varṇa-Ratnākara (Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Conference, Vol. II) and Sir George Grierson's edition of Pārijāta-Haraṇa, a good basis for starting a historical enquiry in the Maithili language has been made. The next great landmark is Vidyāpati whose language is of undoubted interest from this point of view. To the students of the Eastern Indian Brajabuli dialect, he is doubly so. On the Maithili of his age Brajabuli dialect was sought to be built, and on Vidyāpati more than anybody else, were modelled the songs in that peculiar dialect about the love of that cowboy and milk-maid of Brajabhūmi (the land of the cowpen, the tract round about *Vṛndāvana*).

(b) *Some Editions of Vidyāpati's Poems.*

Nor is the student much in difficulty for a workable edition of the poems of Vidyāpati. Bengali enterprise has been keen on the poet since 1877 (?) when Jagatbandhu Bhadra brought out the first separate edition of Vidyāpati. Sir George Grierson's "Maithili Chrestomathy" was, however, the first effort at getting genuine Maithili text. The Vangiya Sāhitya Paṇṣad edition (No. I) of 1909 (1326 B.S.) by Mr. Nagendra Nath Gupta (of which the Nāgari script edition was published by the Indian Press, Allahabad) is a monument of keen scholarship, painstaking research and hearty enthusiasm. Along with the songs published by Mr. Gupta in recent years (1925-8, 1330-33 B.S.?) in the Bengali magazine "Vasumatī," it would make an incredibly unwieldy volume. Later scholarship (Professor Basanta Kumar Chatterji's 'Vidyāpati', Journal of Letters, Department of Arts, Cal. Uni., Vol. XVII; Mm. Haraprasad Sastri's Introduction to 'Kīrtilatā', Hṛṣīkeśa series, Calcutta) has but shown the pitfalls in which Mr. Gupta's enthusiasm led even his cautious steps unawares, e.g., it is questionable how far Kavi Śekhara, Rāya Śekhara and all Śekhara poems are Vidyāpati's; how far Bhūpati, Simha Bhūpati, Bhūpatinātha, Kavi Rañjana, Kavi Kaṇṭha-hāra, Sarasa Kavi, etc., etc., are mere shadows without separate existences other than Vidyāpati's; how far justifiable it is to include the Bengali recensions of Vidyāpati turning them into Maithili; how far safe it is to

accept Vidyāpati's colophon without question; how far the Palmleaf Manuscript with the obviously suspicious poems from Pārijāta-Haraṇa and with the absurd colophon of Husena Sāha (Husain Saha), can be accepted; how far lastly the Nepal Ms. with its quaint forms shows real Maithilī apart from Neoārī affinities. To a student of Vidyāpati's language, acting perforce with Mr. Gupta's edition, these are not negligible. It is safer to agree with Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterji and to proceed with the study of the poems which are beyond doubt Vidyāpati's by applying the test of the outward and inward evidence (of rhetorics, utprekṣā, etc., referred to by Mr. Chatterji). Vidyāpati's poems would then shrink into half the Paṛiṣad volume in bulk. Yet the trouble does not end here. The Bengali edition with which we are forced to work gives rise to phonetic difficulties through the Bengali system of orthography. Thus the glides are a problem. The glide *-w-* is written *-b-*, *nawala kiśora*, etc., and cannot be distinguished in Bengali writing from the labial voiced stop. Again, there is no indication to show how far the written Bengali *ḍ* is really phonetically *v* and not *ḍ*. We would stick to *ḍ* unless Sanskrit affinities warrant us to write *v*. We, however, must work under these difficulties as we follow the Bengali edition, and even accept its numbering of the poems for the sake of convenience in referring to them.

(c) *The Age of the Specimens.*

It may be asked, as the poems stand, can one expect to find in these the Maithilī of about 1400 A.C. to 1450 A.C.? The specimens do not allow of any certainty. Some of the drawbacks of Mr. Gupta's edition, the only careful edition in the field, have been already enumerated. A student of language cannot, moreover, accept Mr. Gupta's reconstructions of the Baṭṭalā versions of Vidyāpati. Much that was Vidyāpati's was passed off by other poets as their own with or without colophon. Mr. Gupta has some such poems. But to the student of the language these are hardly of any value. Double colophons and different colophons in different anthologies must bar some poems from acceptance though these have been accorded room in Mr. Gupta's edition. Poems without colophons again are not to be taken into consideration. Because, in the general anonymity of the class of poems no sure touchstone can be found. The Palmleaf Ms. and the Nepal Ms. on which Mr. Gupta puts much emphasis are to be accepted with these reservations. They preserve the language of the poems they contain more intact than the Mithilā song-books (*e.g.*, Rāga-taraṅgiṇī of Locana Kavi) or Bengali Vaiṣṇavic anthologies (*e.g.*, Padakalpataru, Padāmṛtasamudra, Kīrtanānanda, etc.). These anthologies are not

scrupulous or fastidious enough to preserve the genuine old forms. Under the circumstances, nobody can vouch for the authenticity of the specimens as preserving the forms of Vidyāpati (1400 A.C. to 1450 A.C.), pure and undefiled. A study of the forms of the Umāpati Ms. ("in appearance dated from about the 15th or 16th century"—Grierson, J B O R S, March, 1917) or of the Varṇa-Ratnākara Ms. (compare Prof. S. K. Chatterji. "The Ms. of the work is 200 years younger than the work"; *i.e.*, belonging to the "beginning of the 16th century") supports however the view that in really vital poems the changes are much less than what the circumstances would make out, that the language of Vidyāpati, as presented to us in Mr. Gupta's edition, is sufficiently archaic in comparison with later Maithili. Proceeding cautiously and guardedly a student of language can make a beginning with it. A brief account of the features found on observation and analysis of the poems are sought to be presented here. They will be, it is hoped, helpful to a student of Maithili and to a student of Eastern Indian Brajabuli dialect of Bengal, Assam and Orissa which was modelled on Maithili with sporadic Western Hindi (Braja Bhākhā) forms and a few forms from the respective tongues of the provinces. Undoubtedly the present study will have to be amended later on to make a study of Brajabuli poetry or of Maithili language more fruitful.

I. ORTHOGRAPHY, PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY.

§ 1. The orthography of the songs bears almost no trace of the Sanskrit influence. It is closely connected with the sound value of the letters in the age. (The Bengali edition is apparently in difficulty, because Bengali orthography cannot often do justice to the sounds. Mr. Gupta however seems justly enough not to have cared for the modern Bengali convention of following Sanskrit in orthography while the phonetic value is otherwise.) The vowel sounds, however, are extremely fluctuating, long or short, to answer the requirements of the *mātrāvṛtta* rhythm, and these bear no reflections of the actual conditions in the spoken tongue of the period.

A. THE VOWELS

§ 2. The simple vowels are *a* [= \wedge , ϵ], \bar{a} (=long and short), *i* (\bar{i}), *u* (\bar{u}), *e* (=e, \bar{e}), *o* (=o, \bar{o}), much as we see them in VR. and in Modern Maithili.

§ 3. \bar{a} as in VR. stands midway between North Indian [\wedge] and Bengali [ϵ]. There is also a long value, generally confined to the termina-

tion of the second person in *-aha* (<*-ahu*), e.g., *dekhābaha*. The long value is not noticed in orthography. Many of the *a*'s are orthographic, glides *-ya-*, *-wa-* being reduced.

§ 4. The elision of the final *ā* bagan in the VR. (VR account by S. K. C., § 3); but the imperfect *ā* of the polysyllables (Grierson, Mai. Gram.², § 89), e.g., *dekhābaha*, *phalādāyaka*, etc., does not obtain as such poly-syllables do not fit *m* in poetry. So Vidyāpati throws no light on this important phenomenon.

§ 5. *ā* is shortened in compounds and suffixed forms (though not indicated in this paper) when the stress is shifted from it by the rule of the antepenultimate (Grierson, Mai. Gram.² § 32—§ 35), e.g., *āola* (202) but *āyalahu* (201); *jhāmpala* (8), *jhāpae* (13), but *jhāpābaya* (10). See § 12 (4).

§ 6. The exigencies of the *mātrā-vṛtta* metre and rhyme often lengthen *a* into *ā*. Instances are numerous. Again, *ā* is often-*yā* (or-*wā*), e.g., *piā* (82), *saāṃni* (75).

§ 7. *i*, *ī*, and *u*, *ū* are not uniform, firstly because the *mātrā-vṛtta* metre chooses according to its needs the short or long forms, secondly Maithili has not standardised spelling arbitrarily as Bengali.

§ 8. *e* and *o* have like *ā* a short or long form though no orthography has any device to make distinctions (Mai. Gram.² § 11 § 12). "They are short when they form the second element of a diphthong" (VR § 6) *jakarahīm hoe se jāna* (Chrest. 1), *keo na karae paracārī* (10) etc. In the interior of words *-e-* commonly stands for *-ya-* (*-ye*) and *-o-* for *-wa-* (*-we-*), e.g., *rāē* (<*rāya* <*rāja*) *Rūpa-narāēna*, etc., *sāona* (*-śrāvāṇa*) etc., etc. So also are *-yā-*, *wā*, common substitutes for *-e* (instrumental, present 3rd personal etc., etc.). *moya* (41), *kiye* (41) *puchaya* (6), etc.

§ 9. Long [ɔ] sound is supposed to be found in VR (§7) in *ao* and *saño* > *sā*. Does it obtain in Vidyāpati as well?

§ 10. Diphthongs are *ai* and *au* written *ai*, *aī*, *ayi* and *au*, *aū*, *ayu*, e.g., *bhai* (296) *bhai*, *bhae* (235), but *bhayi* is rare. The sound value is constant. The various spellings make us think that perhaps they were not entirely diphthongs. "In old Maithili the sound was certainly not diphthongal." (Mai. Gram.² § 13, footnote, also VR. § 8). The original Skt. value of the diphthongs *ā+i* (*e*) or *ā+u* (*o*) are entirely forgotten.

§ 11. Nasalization: *candra-bindu* is the usual sign, but as noted in VR account (§ 9) *ñ* is but the rule with *i*, *u* (and therefore, with *yi*, *wu*, *yi*, *yu*). Nasalization, indicated here by a following *m*, sometimes lengthens

the vowels as in Bengali, sometimes does not, *āṁdhāra*, *am̐hāra*, etc., both are common. Again, *bhāmu bhaum̐ha* (< *bhawmaha-bhru*, Skt.) *sāṁca* (30) < *satya*, etc., point to the unbroken tradition of spontaneous nasalization of Middle Indo-Aryan which Maithili continued. Loss of nasal again is as common, e.g., *pāti*, (< *paṅkti*) *kāti* (*kānti*), *-e* (< *-em* < *-ena*), instrumental affix, etc.

§ 12. Treatment of *r* (ऋ, ॠ) : Skt. *r* in the whole of NI. = *ri* and in South and Orissa (from after the 13th century) *ru*. In Vidyāpati *puhawi* (*prithivī*, 50) *sumara* (< *smṛ*—97), etc., are exceptions; *ri* is the rule, e.g., *dīṭha* (4), *hiya* (< *hṛdaya*, 55) *dhīṭha* (< *dhṛḍha*) etc., and *gr̥ma* (< *gr̥vā*) an artificiality points to the same fact.

§ 13. The following phonological characteristics may be noted:—

(1) Retention of initial vowels except for reduction at times of *ā* to *a* due to non-initial stress, e.g., *akāsa* (37) *andhiārā*, etc., etc. Aphæresis is rare, example being *āchila*, *chila*, both occurring.

(2) Retention of medial vowels by intervocal glides of *-ya-*, *-wa-* (or *-a-*, *-ā-*, *-e-*, *-o-*, etc., see *ante*) separate from each other. Contraction or diphthongisation is rather rare: e.g., *paulisi* (73) = *paolasi*, *balita* (< *balayita*, 75).

(3) Anaptyxis is very common in mediaeval poetry. Hence, it is no basis for deciding on the conditions of the real speech.

(4) Epenthesis has come in (see VR account, § 52) *karāita*, (< *karaiti* < *kara-anti*) and such other present participle forms in *-ait* affix. The indication of an epenthetic *-u-* is also traceable in forms like *karabaha*, second personal forms in *-aha* with a lengthened *-a-* vowel (*-aha* forms sprang from *-ahu*, and the *-u*, epenthetic, while disappearing leaves its mark on the lengthened *-a*).

(5) Vowel mutation or Umlaut, of so great extent or importance, such as to warrant us to form any sound conclusion, could not be traced.

§ 14. *Accent*: Sir George Grierson's analysis of accentuation in Maithili (Mai. Gram.² § 28-§ 31) is completely in accord with what we can read in Vidyāpati. Only a bare repetition of the rules as well as the rule for short antepenultimate (Mai. Gram.², § 32-§ 35) could sufficiently explain it. Space would not permit of this here. The stress in Vidyāpati is never final, for it never ends in a consonant after a long vowel. Where the penultimate is long, the stress accent falls on it. In other cases the accent falls on antepenultimate. In *tatsamas* under

certain circumstances the stress is sought to be thrown back. The first syllable, if it has no accent, has a secondary accent.

The study of accent promises to be of great value to the students of Brajabuli. The interaction between the Maithili stress accent and Bengali or Assamese stress system deserves separate and careful treatment somewhere else.

B. THE CONSONANTS

§ 15. The following are the sounds: *k kh g gh* (*ṅ*), *c ch j jh* (*ñ*), *ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh* (*ṇ*), *t th d dh n, p ph b* (*v*) *bh m, y r l w ś s h*.

§ 16. The nasals *ṅ, ñ, ṇ*, have no separate existence (*cf.* Bengali) except as class nasals in the groups of the stops or aspirates of the respective classes, *ṇ* has no existence in Maithili (as in the former in the Gangetic valley) except in *tatsamas*: *narāyaṇa*, etc., when too it is merely orthographic, the sound value being equivalent to *n*. The Modern Maithili value of *n* as *ṇ* is an extension from the Rājasthānī, Panjābī, Marāṭhī, etc. (see VR. account § 12).

§ 17. Nasal or voiced stop or aspirate: No trace of the Modern Maithili substitution of these by the preceding nasal or aspirated nasal respectively (Mai. Gram.², § 27) is found in VR. (VR. account, § 13), nor does it occur in Vidyāpati to any considerable extent. *anhāra* (<*andhāra*); *āṇa* (<*aṇga*) seem to be of more recent origin. In Vidyāpati forms like *kāna*, *kāṇha* (<*kr̥ṣṇa*), *nīna* (<*nīm̐da* <*nīdrā*), *nīma* (<*nīw̐ma* <*nīvva* <*nīm̐ba*) etc., are found; but *mañh* for *mājh* looks too foreign to the language. On the whole *bhujāga* (485), *bhujāṅga*, *bhujīya* (504), *māḍala*, *cāṇa cāḍa* (511) etc., indicate that the class nasal when naturalised had a tendency to become the 'reduced nasal sound, a sort of halfway house between the full nasal of MIA and the nasalization of the vowel of the later NIA' (VR. account, § 13). Assimilation of the stop or aspirate is however not absent, e.g., *saṁād* (416, <*sambād*, *cf.* *samādī*, 361), *cumāona* (613), *cānana* (<*candana*, 426) etc., etc., as also *kāna*, *nīna*, etc., referred to above, make out a strong clear case.

§ 18. *kṣ* in *semi-tatsama* form is (*k*) *kh*, e.g., *tikha*, *katākha* (48), etc., in *tbh*. mostly *kh*, but there are some instances of *s* and thence to *ch*, e.g. *Lakhima*, etc., *lāchi* (<*lakṣmī*, 115), *māchi* (<*makṣikā*, 516), *nachatra* (600), *chana chana* (728), etc. Many of the latter group seem to be artificial.

§ 19. Throughout Northern India, except in Bengal, *ṣ* intervocal or final has the sound of *kh* and often enough is written *kh*. In Bengal the pronunciation is *s*'. In other tracts the development is supposed to have

been $\text{ṣ} > s > [x]$ guttural spirant, $>kh$ guttural aspirate, e.g., *rūsali* (153), *dusaya* (216) show $\text{ṣ} > s$, *supurukha* (229), *bisekha* (238), *harikhe* (238) etc., etc., show $\text{ṣ} > kh$.

§ 20. *j* and *y* are interchangeable in the beginning of a word or syllable or compound, *j* being the value, e.g., *jāmini* (235), *jauvati* (205) etc., etc. While VR. shows *y* in places of *j*,—so great has been their coalescing,—Vidyāpati shows no such thing—perhaps because of the Editor's handling. But then *j* for *y* is common, though not *y* for *j*.

§ 21. *jñ* in sTs. has the mediaeval and modern North Indian value of *gyṃ* or *gy* e.g., sTs. *gēyāna*, *geyāna* ($<jñāna$, 168).

§ 22. *-y-* and *-w-* as glide sounds never occur initially, but only medially: *-y-* being more common of the two. The glide is not often indicated in writing; hiatus was not, however, common. *-w-* and *-v-* are often written alike and confused. The difficulty in working with the Bengali edition increases here (see *ante*), *sabāda* ($<sawāda < svāda$, 176) *bhuana* ($<bhuvana$, 104), etc., *-ñ-* medially often serves the purpose of a glide, especially when accompanied by a nasalized glide, and *-n-* is medially some time turned into *-w-* or *-ñ-* e.g. *nāñō* ($<nāma$, 97), *sañō* ($<sama$) etc., *kuñō* ($<kūwā < kuva < kūpa$, 421), *sohañōna*, *sohaona* ($<sobhamāna$? 41, 60) etc., show *-ñ-* as glide.

§ 23. Great confusion exists regarding the three sounds *-ḍ-*, *ḍ >*, *-ṛ-*, *-l-*, intervocally.

(1) *-l-* is not so common for *-r-* as in VR. (VR Account § 17): *niala* ($<niara < nikaṭa$), *talita* (54, 507, $<taḍit$), *tolata* ($<toḍata$, 627), *jola* ($<juḍa < juṣṭa$) etc., are not many.

(2) *-ḍ-* (᳚, ᳛) or *(-r-)* is not also frequent for *-l-* though *lāḍali* (*lālita* + *alla* + *i*, 435), *pāḍari* ($<pātali$, 725), *paḍāeta* ($<patāeta$), *pitāḍaka* ($<pitalaka$, 393), *baḍada* ($<balada$, 390) etc., are met with.

(3) The interchange between *r* and *l* or *l* and *r* is not however rare, e.g., *ola ora*, *saala sageri*, *kora kola*, *pichara* (20), *jora jola*, *bijuli bijuri*, *berā belā*, *sāmara sāmala*, pairs are frequently seen.

(4) The substitution of *r* for *ḍ* (᳚, ᳛) and *ḍ* for *r* in less measures is common; but no rule can be deduced, same words occur in different spelling. Is it because there is no difference between *ḍ* and *r* in Maithili as in many North Indian vernaculars? cf. *paḍali parali*, *joḍala jorala*, *gaḍala garala*, etc.

(5) *n* for *l* e.g., *abhāgali* (626, $<abhāginī$) and in a few more instances, may be due to phonetic changes as in Bengali but might as well

be due to orthographic confusion, for both *-l-* and *-n-* are written almost alike in Maithili (also in Bengali and Oḍiyā).

§ 24. The Sibilants. The same word is written with *ś* or *s*. What was the sound equivalent? Probably *sy*, midway between *ś* and *s*, suggests Prof. Chatterji in VR. Account (§ 21). As descendants of Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa *ś* would be more proper. But, Modern Maithili has *s* due to the Western Hindi influence. Was Śaurasēnī Apabhraṁśa influence working on Vidyāpati? It is not easy to decide. There are *śāona śāona*, *deśa deśa*, *āśa āśa*, etc., side by side. But, a great preponderance of *s* over *ś* where Sanskrit has only *ś* is noticeable but not *vice versa*. Remarkable are also the slow transition from *ś* (> *s*) > *ch* e.g., *chājata* (91, √*sāj*), *chikehu* (< √*śru*-), *uchaha* (459, < *utsāha*), *kaca* (4, ? < *keśa*) etc. Do these not show that if not in Vidyāpati's time (1400 to 1450 A.C.) at least when the songs were being copied, Mithilā had already opened herself to the Śaurasēnī Apabhraṁśa. influence in this fundamental matter of her phonetics? (§ has been treated in § 18.)

§ 25. *h* generally remains (cf. VR. Ms.) as a voiced sound. Intervocal *-h-* of the particle *-hu* is unstable as in VR. (VR. Account § 22). The new aspirate *-nh*, *-lh*, *-mh*, *-rh*, so common in VR. Ms. (VR. Account § 22), is almost absent except for *kānha* and verbs in *-anhi*. *Kāna* and verbs in *-ani* show which way the aspirates had gone.

§ 26. The following briefest possible phonological outline may be noted here :

- (1) General maintenance of initial consonants.
- (2) General loss of intervocal stops including palatals, and change of aspirates to *-h-* e.g., *koila* (< *kokila*), *rayani* (99, < *rajani*), *meha* (38, < *megha*), *bihī* (< *bidhi*, 2) etc., etc.
- (3) Changes from *-m-* to *-ṃ-*, see ante...note *kādamva* (< *kardama*, 508), conversely *grīma* (469, < *grīva* < *grīvā*).
- (4) Change of sibilants *ś* to *s* generally and *s* (*ś* > *s*), to *ch* sometimes, but to *h* also (cf. Assamese), e.g., *daha* (< *daśa*, 21) *kehari* (< *kesari* < *keśari*, 25) etc. Change of *ṣ* > *kh*, and also > *s* as well. See ante, §18.
- (5) Interchange between *r*, *l*, *ḍ*, and *l* and *n* (§ 23).
- (6) General loss of the first member in consonantal groups of stops and aspirates and resultant lengthening of vowel, e.g., *ughāri* (< √*udghāt*, 4), *rāta* (< *rakta*, 39) etc., etc.
- (7) Loss of *y* and *r* in groups of stops or aspirates + *-r* or *-y*. The dental + *y* > corresponding palatal, e.g., *bijuri* (32, < *bidyut*); but

oftener the dental as in *pāta* < (< *patra*), is retained. The lengthening is often optional.

(8) Loss of sibilants in groups of sibilants + stops or aspirates, or *y* or nasal, e.g., *tana* (*stana*), *thala* (< *sthala*), *ḍutara* (< *dustara*, 300), *sāona* (< *śrāvana*), *sapana* (*svapna*), *sāmara* (< *śyamala*, 57), *ākāmika* (*ākasmika*, 50) etc., etc.

(9) Aspiration and deaspiration very common; *saba sabha* both. *aḍavuda* (*aḍbhuta*, 2) *phāoli*, (< *pāoli*, 75).

(10) Interchange of Consonants :

(i) Voicing and unvoicing especially noticeable in intervocal -*k*-. -*g*-, -*p*- -*b*-, -*t*- -*d*- (-*ḍ*-), e.g., *paragāsa* (< *prakāśa*, 3), *aparuva* (< *apūrva* or *aparupa*, 3), *sātavae* (< *santāpayati*, 75), *niyaḍe* (< *nikaṭe*, 75).

(ii) dental > cerebral in a few cases, e.g., *nari* (< *naḍi*, < *nadi*, 300), *ḍāthi* (*drṣṭi*, 73).

(iii) interchange between *l*, *n*, *r* noted above § 23.

(11) Assimilation. See § 17.

(12) Metathesis is very rare. *pahiravi* (< √ *pari* + *dhā* i.e., *hā*, 89).

(13) Haplology, found in ordinary cases, is otherwise rare.

II. MORPHOLOGY.

A. DECLENSION OF NOUNS.

§ 27. There is only one declension and only a few of the Sanskrit affixes of -*a* masculine survive (*viz.*, instrumental -*em*-, -*e*, genitive singular -*aha*-, -*āha*-, genitive plural -*n*-, and locative in -*hi*-, -*hiṃ*).

§ 28. Gender: The feminine affixes are (i) -*ī*-, -*i* (< -*ikā*), (ii) -*nī*-, *nī* (Tbh.), (iii) -*ā*-, -*ini*-, -*ānī* (sTs). Words derived from Sanskrit which were neuter are generally masculine. Even *dahi*, *āṃkhi*, *āgi*, *dūri*, which are feminine in Modern Maithili are not always so in Vidyāpati.

(1) Adjectives in general very often (not always) change gender.

(2) The genitives in -*kara* (which are really adjectives in essence and origin), and the grammatical forms formed with the past participle (e.g., past tense in -*la*-), with the present participle (future in -*ait*), or with the verbal noun in -*ab* (future in -*ab*),—all of which are in fact by origin adjectival—take the feminine affix -*ī* (-*i*) when they qualify or refer to feminine nouns (*cf.* VR Account § 24). Examples are many: *nawī nāgari* (709), *rusali* (371, adjective), *keli na bhetī* (373), *karabi*, *hoeti*, etc., etc.

§ 29. Number: The -*aha* plural of VR. Ms. (VR Account § 26) is conspicuous by absence. -*aha* which has been standardised by Modern

Maithili into intransitive past forms, is found in Vidyapati in the transitive also. *Kānti coraolaha* (357) *hase nukaolaha* (357) etc., etc.

§ 30. The instrumental plural *-nhi* (genitive plural *-na + hi < hhih*, instrumental plural), found in VR. Ms., is found only with *sakhi* in two or a few more instances, e.g., *sakhinhi* (acc.) in 150, *sakhini* (genitive plural) *samāja* in 197. Modern Maithili plural postposition *lokani* (*-ani < -ahni*) points to this lost plural affix *-nhi*.

In Vidyapati honorific verbs in past tense with *-nhi* are copious as in present-day Maithili. The nominal plural was growing into a verbal honorific affix, e.g., *kayalanhi keli...karanhi manda...khehulanhi* (205), etc., etc.

§ 31. Plural by agglutination of a noun of multitude begun as early as VR., is plenty. *sava*, *sabha* was commoner, *jana* (248), *kula* (192), *dala* (184), *aneka* etc., are frequent.

CASE: The affixes may be noted as follows: (To all these emphatic *-hi*, *-ku*, *-i*, *-u*, are freely added, the vowel in each being optionally nasalized.

§ 32. Nominative and Accusative: no affix; though instrumental *-e*, nasalized optionally, is extended often to these.

§ 33. Instrumental: (i) *-e*, *-em*, (*-em < -enam < -ena*) are numerous. (ii) *-hi* (see VR. Account § 31) from an old puzzling locative affix *-hi < -dhi* or *-smin*; *śravanahi sunala* (834), *juguti manahi anumani* (805), *sahajahi* (805) etc., may have this instrumental, or more probably these are pure nominative forms with emphatic *-hi*.

§ 34. Genitive: (i) *-kara* only with a few nouns e.g., *purubakera pāpe* (471), *deikara kanta* (19), *mukhakera pāna* (321); (ii) *-ka* is the rule. The oblique forms in *-ke*, *-kē*, with the forms optionally in nasalized vowels, found in VR. were already falling into disuse. In Vidyapati *-ke* is found in *manake* (with nom. 79), *kamalake* (with acc. 357):—are these datives? *-kū m* (453) is plenty; but they hardly seem to be regular with locative as in VR. Ms. These are perhaps the Western Hindi genitive affixes intruding on Maithili. (iii) The four *-ra* forms in noun—rather *-ri* (not in feminine, however)—are strange curiosities in Maithili nouns. They occur in songs nos. 1, 62, 100, 600. Do these not betray Bengali influence? Is it safe to regard them as Maithili of Vidyapati's?

All genitive affixes can be traced to *-ka* Sanskrit > Prākṛt pleonistic *-kka* or to the suggested adjectival *-kṛta*, or *-kāra*, *-kara* with bases, leading to *-ar* in one set (pronouns) and to *-kaa* > *-ka* in another (nouns). (See ODBL. § 502, pp. 756.)

§ 35. Dative: (i) *-ke*, i.e., genitive *-k-* with locative *-hi* > *-e*; the nasal came later, (ii) without any affix as in accusative. Song No. 769 shows both.

§ 36. Locative: (i) *-e*, common, frequent in Bengali recensions, as expected, is very common also in Maithili.

(ii) base without affix (which as seen above also serves as Nominative, Accusative and Dative), e.g. *nia nia mandira sujane samau* (150), etc.

(iii) *-hi*, a form exceedingly rare in VR. Ms. could not be here though we seem to see it in *kavarihi thoelaka āni* (248), *manahi* (257) etc. These are perhaps base forms in emphatic *-hi* (cf. instrumental *-hi*). No sign of the locative in *i*, *-ā*, *-a* could be found. (Contrast VR. Ms.). Nor is *-me*, with nasalized *e* or otherwise, the Modern Maithili locative (*madhya* > *majjha* *-hi* > *mai* > *me*) postpositional affix, in evidence in Vidyāpati except in stray cases.

§ 37. Postpositions: The present-day postpositions seem to have begun:

(1) Instrumental *sanga* found in VR. is confused with *sama*, and becomes *sama*, *saño*, *sañe*, etc.

(2) Dative: *lāgi* (✓ *lag* with conjunctive participle) reduced to *-lai* often with genitive obliques from dative.

(3) Ablative: (i) Postposition *sama* (see *sanga* above) reduced also to *saño*, *sañe*, *sāu*, *sā*, *soṃ*, etc., is common, (ii) Common is also *taha* from the old genitive base with 3rd person pronominal *taha*, suggests Prof. Chatterji (VR. Account, § 38), (iii) *dhari* cf. *lāgi* (from ✓ *dhar* conjunctive participle) with *java*, *tava*, etc., to express continuity of time.

(4) Locative (i) *mājha* (Bengali recensions have oftener *māha*, a Western Hindi form), (ii) *upara* (*-i*) > *-para*, (also > *pai*? which is an indeclinable), both common.

§ 38. Nouns in liquids (*-r*, *-ṛ*, *-l*, *-ṇ*) have generally now an oblique base. Formerly, others perhaps also had it (ODBL, p. 748) *kāmini karae sanāne* (37), *sapanaku na purala manaka sādhe* (79), etc., etc. The *-e* oblique is perhaps from locative *-hi*, *-dhi*, *-smin*, and akin to Western Hindi oblique *-ai*, *-e*. (ODBL, p. 748).

§ 39. Absolute cases with participles: to express what Sanskrit called *bhāvē saptaṃ* 'locative absolute,' and *upalakṣaṇē trtīyā*, 'instrumental by sign,' participles take *-e*, in one case locative, and in the other instrumental, e.g., *achaitē vathu* (85) etc. etc. *kaele dhande* (93) etc., etc. Progressive present shows the present participle in *-e*. *heraite acha* (752).

B. ADJECTIVES.

§ 40. Adjectives change gender as noted in § 27. Sometimes they are declined also—though in most cases they are not : *aneke dibase kaela māna* (510).

C. NUMERALS.

Numerals are not many, those there are are often strengthened with emphatic *-hu*, *-hieh*. The following are the Tadbhava numerals noted :

§ 41. Cardinals : *eka* ; *du* (*duhu m*) (4), *dui* (15), *dua* (0) (15), *dau* (23) ; *tina* (23), *tīni* (504), *cāri* (25), *paca* (37), *chao* (14), *sāt* (183), *dasa* (614), *daha* (21), *bāraha* (729), *soḍaha* (287), *soraha* (600), *solaha*, *batisa* (600), *causati* (435), *sata*, *sahasa* (340), *lakha* (507), *lākha* (303), *koti* (286).

§ 42. Ordinals : *pahila* (3), *dosara* (342), *tesara* (52), *cārima* (482) *authika* (500), *pacama* (781), *naumi dasā*, *dasami dasā* (649), *terasi* (755), *caudasi* (756).

§ 43. Multiplicatives : *ḍuna* (40?), *dūna* (353) *dūnā* (501) *doguna* (507) *duguna* (62), *canguna* (595).

44. Fractionals : *ādha* (443), *ādhā* (528), but phonologically important is *-āḍa* (41).

§ 45. Compounds with Numerals : *ekaberi*, *ekasara* (505), *dahadisa* (717), *caudiga* (615), *pacabāna* (609), *pāṃcabāne* (607) etc.

§ 46. Approximatives or indefinite : generally the numeral follows the noun referred to : *dina dui cāri* (502, 504), *paa dui cāri* (303), *tila eka* (212, 215), *dina dasa* (467, 507), *dina sātī pāca* (783). But, this is by no means the rule, e.g., *dui eka divasa* (788), *dui eka palake*.

D. PRONOUNS.

In pronouns Vidyāpati marks a great difference from Jyotirīśvara. Here is more complexity. Only brief indications are given :

§ 47. Pronouns take almost the same affixes as nouns. But, the most distinctive feature of the pronouns are however their oblique forms. The oblique alone often stands for accusative or dative and the oblique with nasalized *-ēṃ* forms optionally the instrumental as well. To all pronominal forms *hi*, *hu* etc., are freely added.

§ 48. The obliques are of two classes : (a) old oblique : these again are divided into two : (i) non-honorific forms with *-aha*, *-ahi* traced to *asya*

(genitive sg.) >assa>aha and -dhi, -bhi, -bhim, -smin (ODBL., § 499), (ii) honorific forms with -an(h)i, -in(h)a, -un(h)a, etc., going back to genitive plural -nām (>ṇa>nām) plus instrumental plural -bhi (hi>-e>-i, see ODBL § 486. p. 725). -in(h)a -un(h)a are without the instrumental -i. It is clear that the honorific oblique was in origin plural. It is to be noted that the old oblique and the old nominative of the personal pronouns (i.e., me, tū, mohi, tohi) are obsolete in Modern Maithili except in poetry. Again ke? (obl. kathi?), keo (obl. kāhu), apane (obl. apanā) have only the old oblique. Kathi is from katra (>kattha>katha) hi (>i) locative (see ODBL, § 825). Kāhu is plain—kā (oblique base) + hu—and apanā is appa (South Mahārāstri? <ātma) genitive plural -na + definitive -ā.

§ 49. New Obliques are of two groups: (i) non-honorific in -ra, -kara, both extended form genitive, (ii) honorific group in -nhika, i.e., genitive -na + locative -hi extended with the typical nominal genitive -ka.

§ 50. Pronouns of possession, i.e., in genitive, sometimes change gender, but often do not. Examples are plenty. See Gender.

§ 51. Pronouns form their plural in the same way as nouns with sabha etc., e.g., i save rākhaha goi (328). Organic plurals have been turned into honorific forms. In Vidyāpati the same person is once referred to in honorific terms and again in terms of familiarity.

§ 52. The old personal pronouns meṃ, tū in their nominative construction are already rare in Vidyāpati (me<maim<mai<mae<mayā, ODBL § 539, tū<tūm<tvaṃ, Skt.). The early oblique base of the two mo- (<maṃma<mama) and to- (tuṃma<tuva<tava) are many, and the instrumental from that, moṇe, maṇe, toṇe, taṇe, as well as the later oblique mohi- (>moe, moya), tohi- (>loe, toya), and the genitive form mora, tora extended to morā, torā, are numerous.

53. hama (nom.) <amhi<amhe<asme (Vedic) = vāyam (Skt.) with hame (cf. 527), hamara (genitive in-kara) hamāra (genitive in -kāra), hamarā (oblique) are already equally in evidence with me, mo, etc. The original plural had become singular. So also to, toha (nominative form), tohara, tohāra (genitive), end toharā (obl.) originally from plural passed off into singular.

§ 54. Especially noteworthy are the Western forms majhu (cf. Presentday W. H. mujh, from majjham<mahyam), tajhu (<tujhu<tujjham<tuhyam<tubhyam, ODBL, § 551) (tajhu is often turned into tasu), then in Bengali recensions to tachu. Similar are also the forms jo, so, ko, jasū, tasu, kasu.

§ 55. The third personal General Demonstrative is *se* in nominative, but *ta-* is its oblique basis, supplying *tahi* oblique, *tem*, instrumental, etc.

§ 56. The Proximate Demonstrative *-i* nom. is from the base *eta* > *ea* > *e* or *i* and *hinaka* (genitive) is from *enka* (*e*+genitive plural *na*+*ha*) *ka* (genitive) > *inhaka* > *hinakara*. (ODBL, pp. 830, 831.)

§ 57. The Remote Demonstrative is *o* (nom.) supposed to come from a colloquial *ava* which in Late MIA supplanted *awmu* < *amu* (ODBL, p. 837) *hunaka* the genitive < *unha* -*ka* cf. *inhaka*.

§ 58. The Relative Pronouns *je*, *ja*, *johi*, etc., present a parallel to *se*, *ta*, *tahi*, etc.

§ 59. Interrogative pronoun for animate objects is *ke* directly Sanskritic and *kāhi* oblique with *kā*, old base of it (cf. *kām lāgi* etc.) For inanimate objects it is *kī* (*ki*) < Sanskritic neuter *kiñ*, with *kathī*(*i*) as obliques. See *ante*. When employed as adjectives they are *kauna* (Mai, Gram.² § 162) or *keona*, *kañona* < *kaḥaṇa* < *karuna* < *kaḥ-punaḥ* (ODBL § 583).

§ 60. Indefinite Pronoun for animate objects in nominative is *keo* (or *keao*, cf. *taiao*) < **kewa* < **keva* < **kevi* < **kepi* < *kaḥ-api*, as suggested by ODBL, § 588. *Kāhu* is oblique, but *kāhuka* (§ 46) is interesting. There are some examples in *Kahika*. *Koi* (nom.) may be Western Hindi or simple *keo* > *ko* emphatic *hi* > *i*.

Indefinite Pronoun for inanimate objects is *kichu* (nom.) < *kiñchi-hu* < *kiñcid-hu*, and oblique is *kathu*, i.e., *katra* > *kath* > *katha-u* (< *hu*). See ODBL, § 589.

§ 61. Reflexive Pronoun *apanē* is *appa* (= Eastern *atta* < *ātma*) + genitive plural *n+e* locative. *apanā* is genitive. *āpa* (126) is Western Hindi (?). It is not yet the honorific 2nd personal pronoun.

§ 62. Pronominal derivatives of

(a) time are the three groups: (i) *ekhana*, *takhana*, etc., plain. (ii) *ava*, *tava* etc. (*tava* < *tabbām* < *tevvām* < *ta* + *ervām*, = the MIA form for *evam*, = Vedic 'thus') with *e* locative. (iii) *tahiā*, *jahiā*, oblique forms with definitive *-ā*.

(b) place: (i) *etayā*, *katayā*, etc., plenty in Vidyapati. Their origin is from *atra*, *katra*, etc. (see *ante*) and *-e* locative (ODBL, § 604). (ii) *tathi*, *jathi*, *tathu*, *jathu*, etc., are almost identical as above, with *-hi* (emphatic or locative) and *-hu* (emphatic). (iii) Similar are *jatahi*, *tatahi*, etc. (iv) *kahām*, *jahām*, etc., would be analysed into *ka* + *asya* + *nām*.

(c) *esana* *ehana*, *kaisana* *kehana*, etc., pairs from *eta* (d) *dr̥ṣa* > *ea* > *disa* > *eaṣa* > *aṣa*, *aika* (though *-ṣ-* > zero is not easy) are adjectives of

likeness and manner. These owed some influence to Western Hindusthani. They also change gender.

(d) Quality and number are signified by *ata*, *jata* for which ODBL, (§ 601) would look to Pāli *ettaka* (analysed into *et* + *yat* + adjectival *tiya* of the Vedic) > *ettaa* > *ata*.

E. CONJUGATION OF THE VERB.

§ 63. The simpler verb forms in Vidyāpati come as a refreshing contrast to the bewildering forms of Modern Maithili which are supposed to have been multiplied in later times through the influx of new people from non-Maithili tracts with non-Maithili dialects. The verb forms freely take emphatic *hi*, *hu*, *i*, *ī*, etc.

(a) Verbal Nouns and Participles.

§ 64. The verbal Nouns are three in number :—

(i) in *-i*, *ai* its oblique. *-i* exactly as the conjunctive participle in *-i* and often spoken, written and pronounced *-a*. It is also declined as in Western Hindi with *-kai*, *-ke*, etc. (< $\sqrt{\text{kar}}$ -*i*, $\sqrt{\text{kar}}$ conj. *i*). Originally it is an OIA affix, says Prof. Chatterji. (ODBL, §§ 420, 746).

(ii) in *-ab* (a), its oblique being *-abā*. It is employed as an infinitive and declined like a noun. It supplies the affix for future forms and originates from < *tabya* > *abba* > *aba*. See *poste* § 75.

(iii) in *-al*(a), oblique *-alā*, like the form in *-i* signifies 'the act of' : modifies the verb into *aēl*(a) or *aol*(a). It is the same as past participle in *-ala*.

§ 65. i) Present Participle form is in *ait* (a) (variously written) < *aiti* < *anti* (see Epenthesis, § 13). The present participle helps to form a future form, past conditional and an adverbial participle if for this last *hi* is joined to it. The participle is adjectival and changes gender.

(ii) The Past Participle is formed with *-al*(a) just as the verbal noun in *-ala* and supplies the base for past and present perfect forms. The Sanskrit past participle in *-atah* > *-alo* > *-au* > *-u* was lost and an affix *-alla*, *-illa*, came to be added to it from the MIA period (ODBL, p. 937 ff.). This participle is adjectival and changes gender.

(b) Long Forms.

§ 66. While in Modern Maithili multiplication of forms is unknown,

(i) a long form in *-ai* is met, though very rarely. *-ai* in third person may

be *ai* < *ati* < *anti* as suggested by Prof. Chatterji and *-iai* in first person is according to him *-iai* < *-iyate*, the passive third person singular present form of Skt. transferred here to first person and active voice (ODBL, § 655). See example in Mai Gram.² p. 128.

§ 67. (ii) The 2nd personal long form in *-aha*, *-ahu* is plenty. It may be from *atha* (Sanskrit 2nd person plural) and *ata* (Sanskrit imperative 2nd person plural) confused into *atha* > *-aha*. (See also § 29.) *-ahu* may be suggested to be < *asu* < *-assu* < *-asva*, the *ātman-pada* imperative singular. (ODBL, p. 905).

(c) *Personal Terminations.* (Mai. Gram.², § 193.)

§ 68. The three personal terminations *-athi*, *-anhi* (see § 30), *aha* (see § 29) and also *-hu* (1st personal) may for convenience be explained here.

§ 69. *athi* (< ? *anti*. Skt. 3rd persent plural) has two uses :—

(i) with honorific subject in 3rd person present, plenty of instances ; also in future (§ 74, c, iii).

(ii) with transitive verbs in past participle—few instances.

§ 70. *-anhi* is a nominal affix transferred to verb forms. It is found with first person and third person with present participle honorific forms and past participle honorific forms both with transitive and intransitive.

§ 71. *aha* (fem. *iha*) has many uses though with second person in general in present, past or future. Special uses (i) with 3rd person in past participle in intransitive verbs (honorific past forms).

(ii) with 2nd person in past participle to form non-honorific past forms.

(iii) with 3rd person present participle to form honorific future tense forms.

§ 72. *-hum*, *-hom*, *-om*, etc., are added in first person in all tenses. It is from *ha* > *hau* > *ahagan* *ahakam* (1st person).

(d) *Tenses.*

As yet the Maithilī is simple in tenses also—there being two broad divisions, one from the base, or base with participles ; the other compound tenses.

§ 73. *Simple Present* is formed from the base directly helped by the Sanskritic present indicative and in some cases with Sanskritic imperative affixes.

(a) The first person has the affixes :

(i) *-i*, *-ī* < *-im* < *wiṃ* < *mi* : examples few (cf. 66).

- (ii) *-o, -om, hom, hum* found in all tenses in the first person.
 (iii) *-ae, -aya*, etc., may be from *awma* < *āmo* and passive *-ia* coalescing.
 (ODBL, §§ 655-656).

(b) Second Person has the affixes:

- (i) Tatsama *-si*. very common.
 (ii) *-hi* from *-si* or imperative *-hi* itself, common.
 (iii) *-aha, ahu* (see § 71)—common.
 (iv) *-u* (is it from some Skt. *-u*? e.g. *karu*)—very common.
 (v) *-i* (extended from 1st person?)—rare e.g. *pekhi* (78).

(c) Third Person has the affixes:

- (i) *-e, -ai, ae* (extended), *aya* etc., going directly to Sanskrit *-ti*.
 (ii) base in *-a*. common. What is the origin?
 (iii) *-u* (compare 2nd person). Examples *lāgu* (229) *khasu* (70) etc. See Mai. Gram.², pp. 128-129.
 (iv) honorific *-thi*, plenty, explained already.
 (v) tatsama *-ti* itself, not uncommon.

§ 74. *Imperative Mood*. (a) First Person: uses are rare—there must have been a form in *-u* cf. *chalū hama sāṅge* (136).

(b) Second Person forms are in

- (i) *-av, -ahu* (ii) *-u*. see present tense; and (iii) *-athu*, honorific
 (? from Skt. *antū* cf. *athī*).

§ 75. *Future Tense*: two groups, one with the present participle *-aita* found only in 3rd person (not in first as at present) and the other with verbal noun *-aba* (§ 64, ii) found in all persons, including 3rd person. To these are added personal terminations.

(a) First Person shows the affixes.

- (i) *-aba* simple.—common.
 (ii) *-abom, -abahum* etc., common.

(b) Second Person shows

- (i) *-aba* (fem. *-abi*)—common.
 (ii) *abaka* (§ 71).
 (iii) *abasi* (§ 73).

(c) Third Person shows

- (i) *-itu, ata, -aita*: examples plenty.
 (ii) *-aba-*, from which with *-e, -ae* (of the present tense) *abae*, etc.
 (iii) *-abathi* (honorific) is with *thi*.

§ 76. *Past Tense*: has two types: one the *-u-* type directly from *-atah* > *ado* > *au* > *u* (Western Hindi form), in all genders and persons the same;

the other, the past participle *-ala* -type (§ 65, ii) with regular personal terminations and sometimes change of gender.

(a) First Person in plain (i) *-ala*, (ii) *-alahum* seems to have been reserved for intransitive forms ; *gelihum* (63), *chukalihum*, etc.

(b) Second Person : in (i) *-ale* (origin ?), (ii) *-alah*, *-alaiha*, (iii) *-alanhe* (486) etc.

(c) Third Person : simple (i) *-ala*, (ii) honorific *alahni*, (iii) *-alaka* the present with pleonistic *-ka*, the present day form with transitive verbs s not many in Vidyāpati .

§ 77. Past Conditional : formed by adding the usual personal terminations to the future form in *-aita*. Examples are not many.

(a) First Person—in *-itahum* (*-ait* is very often shortened to *-ita*) e.g., *jāo ham janitahum...phasitahum hasitahum abhimata sādhi* (828).

(b) Second Person and (c) Third Person escaped notice if there are any.

§ 78. Substantive Verbs and Auxiliary Verbs :

(a) *acha* : the present form shows *-acha*, *achaya*, *achi*, *chaha*, *chathi*, the past form shows more cases without aphaeresis in *achala*, etc. (obsolete now) than in *chala*, etc.

Future is *achait*.

The root is traced to some Vedic* *acchati* (ODBL, § 766).

(b) *√thika* (<*thi-ka* <*sthita-ka*): It has only present tense now but had a future at Vidyāpati's time. Cf. *thika* (in 378). *thikanhi*, *thikaha* (Mai. Gram², p. 168) show its usual conjugations. Hoernle suggests *√stabh* (ODBL, § 769).

(c) *√raha* : at present always in the past sense, seems to have had other sense in Vidyāpati, cf. *rahae* in (483) and (504), *rahaba* (736), *rahaom* (736, 1st Person). See Mai Gram.², § 223. Its origin is a puzzle (ODBL, § 768).

(d) *√ho* : very prominent as usual. It shows *ho*, *hoya*, etc., in the present, *bhela* etc., in the past ; and both *hoita* and *hceba* (cf. 752) in future. Two Sanskrit roots are considered (ODBL, § 767) to merge into it, viz., *√as* > *√ah* or *√ha*, and *√bhu* > *√ho* > *√hu*.

Compound Tenses.

Compound tenses with the verb substantives are :

§ 79. Present Porgressive : two types

(i) with the present participle *-ait + e* (locative) > *aite* and the present substantives added to it according to person, e.g., *heraite acha* (752).

(*ii*) with *-ai* (from *-ait*, according to Grierson, from the verbal noun in *-ai* according to Prof. Chatterji) and the present substantive conjugations added to it. The form is more popular. *Karaichaha* (329), *hoicha* (881) etc., etc.

§ 80. *Present Perfect* : Only one form is met with, *viz.*, the corresponding form of the past indicative with always the third person present suffixed to it; (*cf.* Mai. Gram.², §§ 234, 235, 236) *e.g.*, *kahala achi* (195) *ayala chatthi* (426) etc. The other form with the *-lē* and *a:ha*, etc., is absent but for *laole acha* (769).

§ 81. *Past Perfect* : Instances are not many. One is given *ja'taba jakara lele chali* (769) which shows *-le* (*cf.* § 80) < past participle or verbal noun in instrumental with the corresponding past form ✓ *ach* suffixed to it.

N.B.—Two noteworthy examples of perfect tense, present and past, are met with in this poem alone, *viz.*, 769.

§ 82. The Passive Voice : (*i*) in *-iya* (ODBL, pp. 909-920) is noteworthy. Instances are plenty. *lakhai na pāria* (?) (*ii*) in *jā*, etc. *pāri*, etc., with participles and verbal nouns, are already common.

§ 83. Causatives in *-āb*, *-ābāb*, are undoubtedly from Sanskrit *-āpaya-* > *-avai-* > *-āw-* (VR. Account, § 53).

§ 84. The Formative Affixes are as enumerated in VR. Account § 56 by Prof. Chatterji, besides the adjectival *-la*, etc. Most of them are found in Modern Maithili as well and need not be separately enumerated here.

III. SYNTAX.

§ 85. It is difficult to decide from poetry anything, but on the whole simple sentences are preferred and the usual order is nominative + object + predicate though in poetry the form is often necessarily changed. Relative clauses with *je-se* are remarkable.

IV. VOCABULARY.

86. *Tatsama* words abound, for Vidyāpati was an erudite Sanskritist. *Tadbhavas* however are, as expected, prominent, and foreign words are very few, *e.g.*, *kamāna*, *sarama* (525), *badale* (170) and perhaps altogether number about two dozens.

CONCLUSION.

Sentimentalist or amateurish, or even aesthetic appreciation of Vidyāpati has become commonplace. Such critics may not care, but Vidyāpati is a linguists' problem—a big problem for Maithili, and big for Bengali as well. He is a supreme artist no doubt, but supremely more important as the master of Maithili and the father of Brajabuli. It is high time, therefore, for taking a philological notice of Vidyāpati, though the amateur aesthete will throw up his nose in disdain and the Vaiṣṇava sentimentalist will resent such 'botanising over the mother's grave.' The demands of science are undoubtedly different, but none the less noble and beautiful.

CONCLUSION.

Sentimentalist or amateurish, or even aesthetic appreciation of Vidyapati has become commonplace. Such critics may not care, but Vidyapati is a linguist, problem—a big problem for Maithili, and big for Bengali as well. He is a genuine artist no doubt, but supremely more important as the master of Maithili and the father of Rajbanshi. It is high time, therefore, for taking a philological notice of Vidyapati, though the amateur aesthete will throw up his nose in disdain and the Vaidya sentimentalist will resent such 'potpourri' over the mother's grave. The demands of science are undoubtedly different, but none the less noble and beautiful.

EARLY SCULPTURE OF BENGAL

By

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“History of Bengal sculpture has yet to be written,” thus wrote Mr. (now Dr.) N. K. Bhattasali, M.A., Ph.D., in the introduction to his *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahminical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*.¹ He further added that “a village to village survey would be necessary with this one purpose before a comprehensive history should be attempted.” These statements are, in a sense, true. In fact, up to this time there has been no conscientious effort on the part of scholars to write a systematic history of Bengal sculpture. Though coming under the bigger denomination of Indian art as a whole, a special study of the subject, which in its mediaeval phase represented a flourishing provincial school of art, is none the less useful. It was the long-cherished scheme of the late Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitreya, C.I.E., a pioneer in the study of Bengal art and archaeology, to bring out an authoritative volume on *Gauḍa-śilpakalā*, i. e., “The Art of Gauḍa,” taking Gauḍa to mean the present Bengal proper. Unfortunately the scheme remained long deferred on account of his continued ill health. Ultimately his sad death in 1930 removed from this world the most eminent scholar fitted for the task and it is a pity that the promised volume, which would have been an authoritative

¹ *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahminical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, p. xxiii.

work of the highest value, did not see the light of the day. He has however left us several suggestive and informative articles in the pages of the *Vaṅgadarśana*, the *Sāhitya*, the *Rūpam*, etc., and they are sure to be of great help to the future scholar intending to make a special study of the subject. Dr. Bhattasali, another scholar who has devoted so many years to the study of Bengal archaeology, has not also taken up such a work, with the idea, not entirely false, that such a comprehensive history is not possible except after a thorough and systematic exploration of the older sites of the province. It is true, there have been but very few scientific explorations in Bengal and materials for a systematic study of Bengal art, especially of the earlier stages, are not very plentiful. Yet, I think, with the help of the scanty materials that have come to light of late it is now possible to attempt a systematic study of Bengal sculpture from the earliest times, of which we have any specimen, down to the Muhammadan conquest. I admit, such a study cannot but be at times anything more than a bare outline of the artistic activity of the province. But an outline too has its usefulness for future studies and fresh discoveries.

The art specimens of Bengal, that we are accustomed to see now-a-days in the various public and private collections and scattered throughout the ancient divisions of Puṇḍra, Suhma, Vaṅga and Samatāṭa, do mostly belong to a period of art activity in the province, which synchronised with the period of her political pre-eminence, namely, the Pāla and Sena epoch, roughly the eighth to the twelfth centuries A.D. The relics of this period are too numerous. To speak of sculptural art in Bengal hence one usually understands this Pāla art and the idea is also current that Bengal did possess no art earlier to, and apart from, this art. It however represents, as we shall presently see, the latest period in the art history of the province. This art has long been before the public and is represented in various museums, both in and outside India. Many scholars have studied this art and, besides stray articles in the

various journals, there have already been several books on the subject. Though all of them cannot be said to be quite satisfactory, they offer competent guides for a fuller and more comprehensive study of the subject. It is thus and because the earlier stages have not come to light in appreciable numbers, or where they have, the earlier dates have not been recognised, that we have come to regard a stage, which is really the latest, as the starting point and the sole legacy of Bengal in sculptural art, prior to the Muhammadan conquest of the land.

It would be difficult to say when the Fine Arts began to flourish in Bengal, but presumably they did so from very early periods. Western scholars on art cannot conceive of the existence of a pre-artistic state in human society. In his excellent book, *The Fine Arts*, Mr. G. Baldwin Brown draws from the poet Schiller 'an imaginary picture of a pre-artistic state in which the whole faculties of the human creature are bound up under the pressure of his surroundings.'¹ The poet, it is needless to say, did not believe in such a state, nor does Mr. Brown, who goes on to say, "as a matter of fact such a condition of complete bondage to the outward is not known to man, who at every stage of his development has found time for art." In a revised edition of the same book he describes art as "a product of human nature born before civilisation, but nurtured by civilisation to further growth."² "Art," says Dr. Vogt, "is not something detached from life : it makes life and is made by it. It appears in every age and represents to us the life of which it is a part."³

A similar state of artistic activity in India even from the dawn of human society may be inferred from the Indian texts on the *Śilpaśāstras*, which attribute the origin of the science of art and architecture to Brahmā, the creator of the universe in Hindu mythology. Thus we have in the *Bṛhat Samhitā* of

¹ Brown, G. Baldwin, *The Fine Arts*, 1st edition, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, 4th edition, p. 28.

³ Vogt, Von Ogden, *Art and Religion*, p. 10.

Varāhamihira, a work the date of which has been accepted by all scholars to be the sixth century A.D.

*Vāstu-jñānam = athātaḥ Kamalabhavanān = muni-parampar-āyātam.*¹

“The knowledge of the science of architecture (and necessarily of sculpture and other allied arts, which may be regarded as but adjuncts to architecture) has come down from Brahmā through an unbroken series of seers.” Later texts, too, when enumerating the names of the great masters of art, refer to Brahmā the creator, as the original god, from whom sprang the generations of artists of different denominations. Thus we find in the *Mānasāra*.²

*Pūrvānane Viśvakarmā jāyate dakṣiṇe Mayakḥ |
Uttarasya mukhe Tvaṣṭā paścime tu Manuḥ smṛtaḥ ||
Viśvakarmākhyo nāmno'sya putraḥ sthapatir = ucyate |
Mayasya tanayaḥ sūtragrahīti parikīrtitaḥ ||
Tvaṣṭur = devaṛṣeḥ putraḥ varddhakīti prakathiyate |
Manoḥ putras = takṣakaḥ syāt sthāpaty = ādi catuṣṭayam ||*

In short, from the four faces of Brahmā are stated to have originated the four heavenly architects, namely, Viśvakarman, Maya, Tvaṣṭr and Manu. Their sons are called respectively *S t h a p a t i*, *S ū t r a g r ā h i n*, *V a r d d h a k ī*, and *T a k ṣ a k a*. These latter represent the four classes of terrestrial artists. The terms may broadly be rendered as the architect, the draughtsman-designer, the painter and the engraver. Similar texts can be quoted, but these two are sufficient to show that in the Indian *Śilpaśāstras* the origin of art was ascribed to the creator himself, which is but a figurative way of suggesting that the origin of art was coeval with creation itself.

This state of artistic activity even from the beginning of creation does not look improbable when we remember the

¹ *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, Chap. LVIII.

² *Mānasāra*, Chap. II.

intimate relation of art with religion. Scholars and philosophers are agreed—and in this Indian philosophy of art is particularly at one—that “art and religion belong together by identities of origin, subject-matter and inner experience.....The experience of faith and the experience of beauty are in some measure identical.”¹ This statement of Vogt, peculiarly oriental in bearing, is now nothing new in the west, where such a view has been gaining ground ever since the time of Plotinus, the eminent founder of Neo-Platonism, through a series of illustrious thinkers and philosophers. This intimate relation of art and religion becomes also apparent when we come to survey man’s artistic handiworks of every age and of every clime and find that, almost without exception, they were created by religion. “All the art of the human race,” says Alessandro Della Seta, “is essentially religious art.” Indeed anthropological research has shown that religion had been primarily the source of primitive arts, and history declares that art—whether monumental or plastic—came into being as a handmaid of religion. It will not be far from wrong hence to say that “the beginnings of religion and of art alike lie far back and hidden in the immemorial life of the primitive man,” and the historian can tell us nothing about the real beginnings of artistic activity among men.

From the standpoint of the above observations, which are no doubt universal in application, we have to assume the existence of an artistic state in Bengal even from the dawn of life. We have however no knowledge as to how far back such origins lie and their conditions in the remote pre-historic period. But, coming to the historic period and to a study of the plastic art

¹ Vogt, *Art and Religion*, p. 19.

For the Indian point of view [reference should be made to the two very admirable essays by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy—*Hindu View of Art : Historical*, and *Hindu View of Art : Theory of Beauty*—and his statement, “Religion and art are thus names for one and the same experience—an intuition of reality and of identity.” *The Dance of Siva*, pp. 35-36.

of the province, which forms the subject-matter of these pages, we find that there are authentic evidences to suggest the existence of sculptural activity in Bengal, prior to the Pāla period, which is generally regarded as the only art period in Bengal.

The fragmentary early Brāhmī inscription from Mahasthan¹ attributed to the Mauryya period, the Susunia rock inscription of Candravarman² (c. 4th century A.D.), the copper-plate inscriptions from Dhanaidaha,³ Damodarpur,⁴ Baigram,⁵ and Pabarpur⁶ (all of the fifth century A.D. except the last of the five plates from Damodarpur which is dated in the sixth), the Gunaighar grant of Mahārājā Vainyagupta⁷ (sixth century A.D.), the Faridpur copper-plates of Mahārājādhirājas Dharmāditya, Gopacandra⁸ and Samācāradeva⁹ (all of about the sixth century A.D.), the Vappaghoṣavāta grant of Jayanāga¹⁰ (c. seventh century A.D.), the numerous incidental references to various parts of ancient Bengal in early literatures, as well as the discovery of coins, beginning from the earliest currency, the punch-marked issues, to the late Gupta ones, bear eloquent testimonies to a well-ordered system of government and other conditions favourable for the development of art and crafts in Bengal even from the times of the Imperial Mauryyas in the third century B.C. The cities of Puṇḍravardhana and Tāmralipti appear in full glory even from the pre-Christian era. Koṭivarṣa, Puṣkaraṇā, Karnaśuvarṇa, etc., were flourishing cities long before the Palas rose to power and prominence. In the seventh century A.D. Hiuen Tsang testifies to the grandeur and magnificence of the capital

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 83-91.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 133.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 345-48.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 113-45.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 78-83.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 59-64.

⁷ *I. H. Q.*, Vol. VI, pp. 44 f.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 193-216.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 74-86.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 60-64.

city of Puṇḍrāvardhana, with tanks, hospices and flowery gardens alternated here and there.¹ This shows that people were not indifferent to the idea of the beautiful and it might be expected that monumental arts, architecture and sculpture, were not neglected. We should mention in this connection that in some of the *Silpa* texts too we find rules for the making of beautiful tanks and the laying out of pleasant gardens, and according to the definition given by Śukrācārya these rules should also be included in the *Silpasastras*.² But the elaborate prescriptions for the making of temples, palaces and images have everywhere been given the place of honour, in relation to which every other thing has been treated as an accessory. It can be presumed hence that the monumental arts were not unknown to the people, who knew how to beautify their cities with well laid out tanks and gardens. This becomes apparent when we find that every inscription mentioned above, except the first, was a religious record, having some connection with a pious establishment, either a temple (*devakula*) or a monastery (*vihāra*).

Stūpas were erected and Hiuen Tsang speaks of the existence of several stūpas, said to have been built by the great Aśoka himself, to commemorate the holy sites where Gautama Buddha was believed to have preached his doctrine in person.³ Monasteries sprang up for the residence of monks, both Jaina and Buddhist. The Paharpur copper-plate of the year 159 (478-79 A.D.)⁴ gives evidence of the existence of a Jaina *vihāra* at Somapura in Puṇḍra, while the Chinese traveller, Fahien,⁵ a little earlier, counts no less than twenty-two Buddhist monasteries, all with resident priests, in Tāmralipti only. In the seventh

¹ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 184.

² *Sukranītisāra* (ed. Jibānanda Vidyāsāgara), IV, 3, 58 :

Prāsāda-pratim = ārāma-grha-vāpy = ādi satkṛtiḥ ।

Kathitā yatra tac = chilpasastram = uktam maharṣibhiḥ ॥

³ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 184, 185, 190, 191.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 59-64.

⁵ Legge, *Travels of Fahien*, p. 102.

century A.D. the more celebrated Hiuen Tsang¹ records more than seventy such in the whole of Bengal. In the easternmost parts of the province we have evidence of the construction of a monastery, to be dedicated to the god Avalokiteśvara, in the early years of the sixth century A.D.,² and in the seventh we have evidence of at least one other monastery being favoured and patronised by the Khadga kings of south and eastern Bengal.³ The wealth and magnificence of some of these monasteries have been supplied to us by the Chinese pilgrims. Hiuen Tsang takes special notice of the *Po-shi-po* monastery in *Pun-na-fa-tun-na* (Punḍravardhana) and the *Lo-to-mo-chih* monastery in *Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na* (Karnasuvarṇa). The courts of the *Po-shi-po* monastery, he says, "are lighty and roomy; its towers and pavilions are very lofty. The priests are seven hundred in number; they study the law according to the Great Vehicle. Many renowned priests from Eastern India dwell here."⁴ The halls of the *Lo-to-mo-chih* monastery again were light and spacious, the storeyed towers very lofty.⁵ Itsing, another Chinese traveller (673-87 A.D.), has left us again a graphic and picturesque account of the university of *Bha-ra-ha* in Tāmra-līpti, with its inner life, organisation, discipline, splendour and fame.⁶ Beautiful temples too were in existence, as might be inferred from inscriptions, ranging in date from as early as the early Gupta period, which frequently refer to temples of various gods, for whose maintenance lands were bought and sold. Indeed, as we come to know from the indefatigable Hiuen Tsang, there were more than three hundred temples all over Bengal⁷—perhaps a fair estimate of the number that existed in his time.

¹ Watters, *loc. cit.*

² *I. H. Q.*, Vol. VI, pp. 44 ff.

³ *M. A. S. B.*, Vol. III, pp. 85-91.

⁴ Beal, *Records of the Western World*, II, p. 184.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁶ Takakasu, J., *It sing's Record of the Buddhist Religion*, Chap. X.

⁷ Watters, *loc. cit.*, pp. 184, 185, 190, 191.

Architecture and sculpture go hand in hand. In fact, in India the two should be regarded as but branches of the same art, the art of worship, if I may be allowed to use the term. Neither can be said to be complete without the other. Scholars, like Dr. Coomaraswamy, have shown how the spirit of adoration—the loving and passionate devotion to a personal deity, which we know as *bhakti*—have governed the evolution of Indian art from the earliest times onwards. This doctrine of *bhakti* led to the creation of the plastic symbol of the god (*deva*), i.e., his image (*pratimā*, *arccā*). For the enshrinement of the image was required the temple, as the *sāstric* injunction prohibits the worship of images above a certain height in private chapels and prescribes public temples for their proper installation.¹ For the image thus was created the temple and for the temple again were required other images and plastic forms, as much for its decoration and beatification as for the satisfaction of the canonical prescription of setting up, along with the presiding deity, attendant deities (*parivāra-devatās*), doorkeepers (*dvārapālas*), and the like in different niches of the temple walls. Thus was the relation of architecture and sculpture inseparable in India. The evidence of the existence of so many temples in Bengal, prior to the Pāla regime, should then reasonably indicate a fairly active period of architecture and sculpture before the Pāla school of art took its rise.

It is apparent therefore that sculptural art was not an unknown feature in the early history of Bengal. But early sculpture appears to be non-existent in comparison with the state of things, which we may reasonably expect in an well-ordered flourishing society with the evidence of the existence of every kind of religious edifices,

¹ *Matsyapurāṇa*, Chap. 258, verses 22 f. ;

Aṅguṣṭha-parvād = ārabhya vitastīm yāvad = eva tu /

Grhe vai pratimā kāryyā n = ādhikā śasyate budhaiḥ / /

Āṣoḍaśāt-tu prāsāde kartavyā n = ādhikā tataḥ /

Madhy = ottama-kaniṣṭhā tu kāryyā vittānusārataḥ / /

known in other parts of ancient India. The reason is probably to be sought for in the fact that our collections consist chiefly of what we may call chance finds from tanks and ditches of the latest period and from the upper stratum of the ground and not in a paucity of artists or of art products in Bengal prior to the Pāla regime. Archaeologically Bengal has been a much neglected province, though there is no dearth of prospective sites for archaeological exploration within her boundaries. It is the lack of proper exploration that is to account for the comparative scantiness of early Bengal sculpture. The systematic exploration and excavation of older sites in the province are expected to yield valuable results in the shape of earlier specimens of Bengal sculpture. Up to this time only one proper excavation has been conducted in the province and this, the Paharpur excavation, is a striking example of what a systematic exploration may yield in this direction.

In assigning the sculptures to certain periods one has to depend on dates recorded on them, which afford a firm chronological basis. Mere inscriptions too on a sculpture help a good deal in this direction by way of palaeographical evidence. In some cases (*e.g.*, in excavation) an examination of the different strata comes to our help. Our knowledge of Bengal sculpture is based chiefly on chance finds, and as such we have not the advantage that relics laid bare in excavation have in stratification for ascertaining their dates. Most of the finds again contain neither any date nor any inscription. Under these circumstances the only means of dating a sculpture has been the testimony of style. Such an evidence may at first sight seem to be deceptive, as, apart from the characteristics of a certain school or certain period, there is always the element of the skill of the individual artist to be taken into account. On the whole, however, the sculptures of Maurya, Śuṅga, Kuṣāṇa, Gupta and the Pāla periods represent distinct types and, within these main divisions at least, may, in nearly all cases, be classified with confidence.

CHAPTER II

PRE-GUPTA SCULPTURES IN BENGAL

Leaving aside the art of the Indus valley civilisation, which, in the words of a learned scholar of Indian antiquities, represents the 'pre-history' of Indian art, its history may be said to begin from the third century B.C. under the fostering care of the imperial Mauryas, specially of Aśoka. Among the scanty relics of the period may be mentioned the colossal statues of Yakṣas and Yakṣis and monumental animal figures. In the subsequent period, but prior to the Christian era, which may be roughly designated as Śuṅga, we have, in Northern India, the decorative bas-reliefs on the railing round the stūpa of Bharhut (c. 150 B.C.), on the old railing round the Bodhi tree at Bodhgaya (c. 100 B.C.), on the four *toranas* (gateways) of the great stūpa of Sanchi (c. 50 B.C.) and the contemporary cave reliefs of Udayagiri and Khandagiri in Orissa. In Bengal proper no stone sculpture of this early period has come to light as yet, though other antiquities, such as inscriptions,¹ coins² and specimens of terra-cotta art,³ which can be assigned to these periods, have been accidentally discovered from several of the older sites of the province. It may be hoped hence that stone sculptures too are likely to come up on a proper exploration and excavation of the sites concerned.

During the Kuṣāṇa period, which may be roughly taken as the period from the latter part of the first to the third centuries A.D., we have the prolific school of Mathurā with its treasure-house of figures, sculptures and images representing Buddhist, Jaina as well as other orthodox forms of early Indian belief. We need not enter into any controversy to assume that cult images came to be evolved and gradually favoured in the Kuṣāṇa period.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 83-91.

² *Annual Report of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi*, 1931-32, pp. 13-14; *A.S.I.*, A.R., 1921-22, pp. 74 and 75.

³ Mukhopadhyaya, Harekrishna, *Pokharṇā, Udayana*, 1340 B.S., p. 213; *A.S.I.*, A.R., 1928-29, pl. xxlii, 6.

Mathurā was the great centre of this art and sculptures carved in Mathurā tradition and Mathurā medium have been found over a large area, that is to say, as far south as Sanchi, in the Bhopal State,¹ as far east as Patna and Rajgir in Bihar,² Sahet-Mahet in the United Provinces in the north³ and Taxila in the west.⁴ The chief material for the Mathurā artists was the spotted red sandstone, often called the Agra or Karri red sandstone.

Several sculptures from Bengal may be said to exhibit some affinities with the art of the Kuṣāṇa period. Not executed in the red sandstone of Mathurā they appear to have been the work of local artists. These represent two sculptures of Sūrya—one from Kumarpur and the other from Niyamatpur, both in the Rajshahi district, one of Viṣṇu from Hankrail in Maldah and another, a colossal head, from Dinajpur. All of them have thus been discovered from North Bengal, roughly the Puṇḍra of ancient times, and are now preserved in the museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi. The Kumarpur Sūrya is an extremely coagulated specimen and shows the god standing on a high pedestal, containing seven horses, between his two attendants and holds in the two hands two lotuses with stalks (*sanālapadma*). Broad and heavy features, long tunic, open round eyes, flat and low head-dress are worth noticing. The Niyamatpur specimen (Fig. 1) is executed in a coarse-grained sandstone. Here the god stands on a low pedestal between two dwarf attendants, Daṇḍī and Piṅgala, and is dressed in a flat cap and a long tunic fastened at the waist by a belt. He holds a pair of lotuses by the stalks, as enjoined by the *dhyanas*. But the horses of the Sun-chariot, the wheel and the two queens are not shown. The Hankrail image is a relief-like, free-standing

¹ Marshall, Sir John, *A Guide to Sanchi*, pp. 29, 30, Pls. II, XII.

² *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1905-06, pp. 105-6; *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle*, 1913-14, p. 74.

³ *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1908-09, p. 34; *J. A. S. B.*, XLVIII, 1, p. 278.

⁴ *J. A. S. B.*, XLVIII, 1, p. 278.

sculpture. Dr. Kramrisch describes it thus : " The four-armed figure (Fig 2), of which the two lower arms, now broken, originally were stretched downward, carries the conch in the upper left, a round object (lotus bud ?) in the upper right, wears a low *kirita mukuta* (crown), scanty jewellery, peculiar loin cloth (*pari dhāna*) clinging to the legs and curled towards the bottom with a folded end hanging between the legs. A squat halo, with design incised, surrounds the head." It is executed in buff-coloured sandstone.

The main point of Kuṣāṇa affinity of these three figures is the distinctly Kuṣāṇa dress—a long tunic covering the body from the neck to the knees,—as is to be found on the royal portraits on Kuṣāṇa coins. The only exception can be found in the Viṣṇu image from Hankrail, where the upper part of the body is bare ; but the lower part of the loin cloth is treated in a fashion, which is strongly reminiscent of the lower part of the peculiar Kuṣāṇa dress. All these figures are in low and flat relief, stern economy confining the main effect to the surface, to harsh angles and to lines, as in the case of the portrait statues of Kaṇiṣka and Caṣṭana found at Mathurā.¹ All the three, not excluding even the free-standing sculpture of Viṣṇu, are frontal in the most rigorous sense of the term. The accents, as Dr. Kramrisch speaks of the Viṣṇu figure, are placed on the linear effect and not the slightest attempt is made at the rounding of the contours. These features are characteristic of the secular art at Mathurā, represented by the portrait statues, and combined and compromised with these, we find others in common with the cult images of the period, which the celebrated German scholar, Ludwig Bachhofer, assumes to have been subsequent to the above group. The broad and heavy features, especially the broad shoulders, have distinct affinities with the early Kuṣāṇa Buddha and Bodhisattva type at Mathurā.² Another peculiarly Kuṣāṇa

¹ *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1911-12, Pl. 1 ; *J. B.O.R.S.*, VI, pp. 51-53.

² Coomaraswamy, A. K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Figs. 79, 83-85.

feature, in common with the latter group, is that the hands, whether raised as high as the shoulders (as in the case of the Sūrya figures) or clenched to hip (as in the case of the Viṣṇu image), have always the elbows at some distance from the body, the forearms in the former case solidly stuck to the upper arm, making sharp angles at the elbows. The raised eyebrows in the Viṣṇu image, very rarely to be met with in later sculptures, is again a significant point. In the colossal head (Fig. 3) the shaven skull, the short but wide open eyes, raised eyebrows with descending curves at the extremities present clear affinities with the heads of the Buddha and Bodhisattva type at Mathurā, while the moustache, the beard and the sinuous bow of the mouth are closely akin to the Graeco-Buddhist sculptures from Gāndhāra.

It is to be admitted indeed that these are only broad affinities and one cannot with confidence label these sculptures as Kuṣāṇa on the basis of these data only. Yet, in the absence of inscribed records, comparison with known dated specimens is the only, and the best, test for ascertaining the age of a particular sculpture or sculptures. From this standpoint these sculptures under notice present favourable points and affinities for describing them as being contemporary with the Kuṣāṇa sculptures of Mathurā, especially as the peculiar features, that have been mentioned, have no parallels in any other school or period of art.

It should be pointed out in this connection that the first three sculptures have sometimes been tentatively attributed to the eighth century A. D. and they have been frequently compared to the figures on the Bodhgayā stone lintel of the year 26 of Dharmapāla.¹ A careful examination, however, reveals divergences in

¹ *A.S.I., A. R.*, 1908-09, p. 148, Fig. 8; Banerji, R. D., *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, Pl. I, a.

point of modelling and execution, which cannot be passed over lightly. As for example, the figures on the Bodhgayā lintel are carved not in flat and low relief, but are cut out quite bold so that they come out distinctly from the background, instead of being compressed into the background as in the sculptures under notice. Moreover the features of the Bodhgayā figures are not so flat and heavy as those of the three sculptures we are examining, but exhibit distinct rounding and greater gradation of planes. The Bodhgayā figures again, even the figure of Sūrya to extreme left, do not show the Kuṣāṇa dress of these sculptures. We have no evidence that this peculiar Kuṣāṇa dress survived so late as the eighth century A. D. We do not find it used in any image of the definitely early Pāla epoch, as we may reasonably expect if these sculptures should really belong to the beginning of Pāla art. The last that we know of this dress are on the royal portraits on the coins of the Gupta emperors, but in sculpture we do not think that it survived even so late as the Gupta period. Under these circumstances, the attempt to class these three sculptures as Pāla primitives cannot be justified. It is safer to class them with the Kuṣāṇa figures, with which they present greater affinities, as regards their style as well as their dress. Now the question arises whether these had been imported from Mathurā or were the works of local artists. The absence of the use of red sandstone, the particular material of Mathurā, would preclude the first. The Kuṣāṇa period was a great creative period in Indian art and Mathurā was the centre of this activity, the manufactory, whence images were purported to have been exported to every direction. The Mathurā type served as models for local artists in different regions. If sculptures carved by Mathurā artists at Mathurā could reach Bihar, it is no wonder that local artists in Bengal would be influenced to fashion, after Mathurā, cult-images, which the Mathurā artists had the distinct honour of creating and diffusing throughout the greater portion of Central and Eastern India.

CHAPTER III

GUPTA SCULPTURES

The Gupta art is the logical outcome of the Kuṣāṇa art of Mathurā by physical refinement and inner spiritualisation. This is best illustrated in several images of Buddha and Bodhisattva of the Kuṣāṇa period and of the Gupta period. The early Kuṣāṇa Buddha and Bodhisattva type of Mathurā,¹ whether seated or standing, exhibits the shaven head with spiral *uṣṇīṣa*, wherever it is preserved, broad shoulders and heavy features and wide open eyes. The pose is extremely stiff, clear *paryyāṅkavandha* (cross-legged posture) when seated, or rigid *kāyotsarga* (pose of dedicating the body), when standing. The right hand, raised as high as the shoulders, appears to be solidly stuck to the upper arm, and the left is either clenched to hip in case of the standing figure or rests on the thigh in case of the seated one. The elbows, always at some distance from the body, make sharp angles. The drapery, clinging fast to the body, leaves the right shoulder bare but exhibits deep-cut conventional folds on the left arm. Though indicating considerable progress in technique these works cannot be said to possess great artistic merit. The faces of these figures do not convey any psychological meaning. "Their open eyes," Dr. Kramrisch is quite right in saying, "ill fit the head of a Buddha." Their gestures and features are expressive of enormous energy, rather than of repose and sweetness as are to be expected in a *yogin* with the mind absorbed in meditation. There is again no suggestion of intended grace.

This heavy, solidly built and unspiritual Bodhisattva type of Mathurā was gradually transformed into the delicate, reposeful and intensely spiritual Buddha type of the Gupta period, the most prolific representations of which are to be found at Sarnath. To the heavy stolidity, and earthliness of the Kuṣāṇa type the

¹ For an enumeration please refer to Coomaraswamy, A. K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 57-58, Figs. 79, 83-85.

Gupta artists added a refined restraint and inner spirituality. Recently Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda has ably traced the gradual stages of this transformation from the physical and especially from the spiritual point of view.¹ The earliest dated image of the Gupta period is the Bodhgayā image of Bodhisattva of the year 64 of Mahārāja Trikamala;² the year, referred to the Gupta era on the basis of script, corresponds to 383-84 A.D. The image appears to be the work of a Mathurā artist as its material, the red sandstone of Mathurā, suggests. Much that is of the Mathurā school is still practised, as for example, the type of *paryyāṅkavandha* (crossed legs), the folds of the garment on the left shoulder and the left forearm as well as the 'heavy ponderosity.' But instead of the shaven head of the Mathurā type we have on the head the hair of a *Mahāpuruṣa*, disposed in little curling rings. But, apart from the physical aspect, the transformation appears to be miraculous in the artistic character of the image. Though the left eye of the image is damaged, the right eye, fixed to the tip of the nose, appears to be looking inward, signifying the mind absorbed. The face too wears the expression of absorption in deep meditation, i.e., *dhyāna*. According to Rai Bahadur Chanda this spirit of *dhyāna* or the highest stage of *dhyāna* known as *samādhi*, permeates every image of the Gupta period, whether Buddhist, Jaina or Brahminical. To the Indian devotee, he says, every deity is a *dhyānayogin*, aiming at *sambodhi* or *kevalajñāna*, i.e., perfect knowledge, or *ātmajñāna*, i.e., self-knowledge. He traces the outward form of a *dhyānayogin* in the figures on seals discovered among the chalcolithic remains of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa dating from about 3000 B.C. After an interval of about three millenniums this outward form reappears in the Buddhist images of Gāndhāra and Mathurā, which, however, could not

¹ A. S. I., A. R., 1929-30, pp. 215-221; *Medieval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, pp. 11 ff.

² Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, Pl. XXXV; A. S. I., A. R., 1922-23, p. 69, Pl. XXXVIII, a.

catch the inner spirit of this *dhyanā*. It was the Gupta artist, about two centuries later, who first "succeeded in giving full expression to the spiritual vision of the *dhyanayogin*." This spiritualism is perhaps the same which the European scholars call 'intellectualism' in Gupta art, and this, combined with its fine finish and execution, constitutes its supreme excellence.

The Bodhgayā image of the year 383-84 A.D. represents the combination of the 'stolid dignity' of Kuṣāṇa art with the restrained grace and inner spiritualism of Gupta art. But this heavy stolidity of the fourth century gradually melts away and the stiffness is overcome in the fifth century, when the Gupta art reaches its apogee. The chief products of this period are to be found at Sarnath. The figures are to some extent slimmed down and the stiff poses of the hands gradually eased. Left forearm, clenched to hip, gradually descends downward and holds artistically the hem of the outer garment, while the right forearm, originally raised to shoulders, descends forward with the palm and fingers, full of grace, elegantly disposed in *abhayamudrā*. Such a manoeuvre in the disposition of the hands does away with the harsh angles at the elbows, a feature reminiscent of Kuṣāṇa art. The stiffness of the rigid *kāyotsarga* posture is also done away with. The Buddha of this period does not stand quite erect. "The median line," to quote Rai Bahadur Chanda, "instead of being perpendicular and dividing the body into two exactly equal halves, bends into a graceful curve by the inclination of the torso slightly to one side and throwing the weight of the body on one leg, so that one hip is slightly higher than the other." The other leg is slightly bent at the knee, as if for a forward step. Thus was a type evolved in the fifth century A.D., characterised by a "beauty of definition with a spirit of calm and peaceful contemplation," which Sir John Marshall describes as one of "the greatest contributions which India has made to world's art."¹

¹ Marshall. *A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 20.

Although the earliest dated image of the Gupta period, so far known, should be traced to Mathurā, "the leading craftsmen of the Gupta school were working at Sarnath." Nevertheless, as Dr. Kramrisch¹ rightly observes, they had learnt their lessons from Mathurā and the Sarnath images of the earlier period (c. fourth century A.D.) "clearly betoken their indebtedness." To quote her again, "the Sarnath version of the Mathurā prototypes is subtler than the original." Scholars are agreed that in the Sarnath images of the fifth century greater delicacy of execution combined with an intensity of expression must be regarded as an independent contribution. This became acknowledged even beyond the confines of the school and Mathurā itself adopted it to its own purposes. In spite however of this mutual interchange, a distinction can be recognised in the products of the two schools. Graceful parallel wavy lines indicating the folds of the drapery distinguish the works of the Mathurā school from the school of Sarnath, which shows the plain transparent drapery sticking to the body and showing the apparently nude figure, in the fifth century A.D.

The influence of Sarnath made itself felt in Eastern India. Dr. Kramrisch² further recognises the existence of a local eastern version, which, though basing its "idiosyncracies on the Sarnath school," is conspicuous by "a warm sensuousness with which it endows the sublimations of Sarnath." The stucco figures of Maniyar Matha at Rajgir (Rājagṛha³) exhibit a fine but emotional and sensuous workmanship, which cannot be expected in the sublime and impersonal creations of Sarnath. The Sultangunj copper Buddha,⁴ according to her, shows this emotional trend in "the nervy manner in which pointed finger tips are bent slightly backwards, deeper shadows shown round the eyes and lines that

¹ Kramrisch, *Die Figurale Plastik der Gupta Zeit, Wiener Beiträge Zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Asiens*, V, p. 24, Fig. 7.

² Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 67.

³ Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Fig. 176; A. S. I., A. R., 1905-06, Pl. XI.

⁴ Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Fig. 160.

are more drawn from the nostrils to the mouth." This emotional version of the Gupta art of Sarnath can also be recognised in the reliefs of the Gupta doorjamb, discovered at Dah Parvatiya, near Tezpur in Assam.¹

Of the sculptures of the Gupta period found in Bengal mention should first be made of a standing image of Buddha, discovered from Biharail in the Rajshahi district and now exhibited in the museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi (Fig. 4). It can be definitely dated in the early fifth century A. D. on account of style. It has been executed in Chunar sandstone and the type resembles the contemporary images from Sarnath. Had the findspot not been correctly recorded, one would have mistaken that it came from that sacred site of Buddhism. It is sadly mutilated. Feet and right forearm, palm of the left hand and greater portion of the halo are missing. Whatever is preserved shows the lord standing with his weight resting on the left leg and right bent at the knee. This easier posture and the slight, almost imperceptible, inclination of the torso endow the figure with poise and balance. The diaphanous robe, covering both the shoulders, falls a little below the knees, hiding, yet at the same time clearly revealing, the smooth and subdued modelling of the whole body. Though nose and lips are partly mutilated, a spirit of calm and peaceful contemplation, the spirit of *dhyānayoga*, is stamped in every feature of the face with its half-downcast eyes fixed to the tip of the nose. The eyelids again are perfectly petal-shaped. Conventional curls with the *uṣṇīṣa* crown the head. The whole figure is well modelled and well proportioned, and every feature is clearly but smoothly defined. There is a refined delicacy in the treatment of the torso and the abdomen. The legs too are no exception to it. In majority of the figures of the period the legs are more or less summarily executed. This particular sculpture from Bengal is perhaps the single instance where we find them quite naturalistically

¹ A.S.I., A.R., 1924-25, p. 98, Pl. XXXIII, a, b, c.

modelled, and the flowing linearism of the lower part of the figure endows it with an ease and grace difficult to find in other contemporary sculptures from Sarnath even. This factor attributes no mean credit to the local artisan who carved out this image.

In the Buddha image from Biharail the emotional traits, which Dr. Kramrisch notices in the colossal copper Buddha from Sultangunj, are subdued. But the emotionalism of the eastern version is fully evident on an image of Sūrya in bluish basalt, discovered at Deora in the district of Bogra and now preserved in the museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi (Fig. 5). The deity is standing with a circular halo round the head and carries a lotus stalk in each of his two hands. He is attended by Daṇḍī and Piṅgala (not bearded as in the later images), while Uṣā and Pratyusā are seen to the right and left of the deity, discharging arrows. He has for his ornaments a cap-like crown (*kirīṭa*), a short necklace, apparently of beads, and bracelets. He wears boots which are partially hidden. The figure is clad in a skirt tied round the waist by a girdle clasped in front. Along his left side is seen hanging a sword, kept in position by means of a chain, while a scarf passes round the waist and is knotted to right with the ends gracefully arranged. In front of the god is seated Aruṇa, the charioteer. The wheel of the chariot as well as the seven horses are depicted on the pedestal. When we compare this image with the two images of probably Kuṣāṇa date (described above) we find that the iconography of Sūrya, as seen in actual images, has developed. The latter two had only two attendants, namely, Daṇḍī and Piṅgala. The horses of the chariot had been given in only one image. But here we find, besides the horses, the single wheel (*cf. ekacakram* of the *dhyāna*, of the Sun-chariot, Uṣā and Pratyusā shooting arrows and the charioteer, Aruṇa, seated in front. It should be remarked also that the sacred thread, so prominent in later Sūrya images, and the two queens and Mahāśvetā, the almost invariable attendant figures in the images of Pāla period, are not

depicted here. The image under notice corresponds most with the following description of Sūrya, given in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Chap. 261, 1-8 :

Prabhākarasya pratimām = idāniṃ śṛṇuṭa dvijāḥ |
Rathasthaṃ kārayed = devaṃ padma-hastam sulocanam ||
Saptāśvaṃ c = aikacakraṃ = ca ratham tasya prakalpayet |
Mukuteṇa vicitreṇa padma-garbha-sama-prabham ||
Nānābharaṇa-bhūṣābhyaṃ bhujābhyaṃ dhṛta-puṣkaram |
Skandhasthe puṣkare dve tu līlay = aiva dhṛte sadā ||
Colakac = channa-vapuṣaṃ kvacic = citreṣu darśayet |
Vastrayugma-samopetaṃ caraṇau tejas = āvṛtau ||
Pratīhārau ca karttavayau pārśvayor = Daṇḍi-Piṅgalau |
Karttavayau khadga-hastau tau pārśvayoḥ puruṣāv = ubhau ||
Lekhāṇi-kṛta-hastāṃ = ca pārśve dhātāram = avyayam |
Nānādevagaṇair = yuktam = evaṃ kuryād = Divākaram ||
Aruṇaḥ sārathīś = cāsya padmīnī-patra-sannibhaḥ |
Āsvau suvalaya-grīvāv = antasthau tasya pārśvayoḥ ||
Bhujāṅga-rajjubhir = baddhāḥ saptāśvāraśmi-samyutān |
Padmasthaṃ vāhanasthaṃ vā padma-hastam prakalpayet ||

In point of style and execution this image from Deora appears to date in the sixth century A. D., having general resemblance with those of the panels in the Gupta temple at Deogarh. The prominent *trivali* marks, the paucity of ornaments and the strict simplicity of design are characteristically Gupta. The long wigs falling on the shoulders and the arrangement and knot of the scarf, passing round the waist, are in peculiarly Gupta fashion (*cf.* Deogarh panels and stucco reliefs of Maniyar Maṭha). The circular halo, with only a beaded border; appears to be but a plain reminiscence of the exquisitely decorated halos of the Sarnath Buddhas. The deep shadows below the eyes and round the lips accentuate the emotionalism of the full round face.

Another relic of definitely Gupta workmanship, a gold-plated bronze image of Mañjuśrī, comes from the Balai *dhāp* mound, close to the ruins of Mahāsthān, the ancient city of Puṇḍravardhana, and now forms one of the finest exhibits in the museum

of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi. The figure (Figs. 6 and 7) is in the round and represents a standing male figure with two hands, the right, which was found a few years after the discovery of the image, in *varada* (granting boon) pose and the left in *vitarka* (pose of exposition). The figure has matted hair arranged in a knot over the head and falling in wavy locks over the breast and shoulders. In front of the matted tiara we have the miniature figure of the *dhyānī* Buddha Akṣobhya, the spiritual father of Mañjuśrī. The god wears a *dhoti*, tied round the waist below the navel by a double-stringed girdle. The ends of the garment, which is in folds, hang beneath the legs, reaching as far as the ankles, and are treated in a jigjag fashion. A scarf (*uttarīya*) passes round the upper half of the body. The sacred thread hangs down in a wavy fashion. The ears are decorated with plain tops and the eyes are inserted in silver. The pupils are well marked. The *trivali* marks on the neck are very prominent and the face is made fleshy and roundish in appearance with the fully expressed thick lower lip. The emotionalism of the eastern version is evident in every line. Pointed finger tips are bent backward as in the Sultangunj copper Buddha. The whole figure is well modelled, not excluding even the feet, and has a simple naturalism about it for which we look in vain in later sculptures. The close-fitting drapery and the general style of work are again characteristic of early Gupta workmanship. The paucity of ornaments is remarkable and, as Mr. N. G. Majumdar, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., points out in connection with a short note on it,¹ presents a great contrast to the inordinate taste for over-ornamentation and complexity of design, which became prominent factors in all artistic attempts of a later period. The image, on these grounds, cannot be ascribed to a date later than the sixth century A.D.

Some discussion as to the process of manufacture of bronze and metal images will not, I hope, be out of place here. Bronze

¹ *Modern Review*, Vol. XL, 1926, p. 426.

is technically known in Indian *Silpaśāstras* as *aṣṭadhātu* (an alloy of eight metals), for which Dr. N. K. Bhattasali of the Dacca Museum has coined the term, 'octo-alloy.' In this compound we have copper, tin, lead, antimony, zinc, iron, gold and silver in varying proportions. Copper was evidently the chief ingredient and the last two, the two valuable metals, gold and silver, are either nil or quite insignificant. Images wholly cast in brass or silver are also known from Bengal, though in the later period. Sometimes, as in the present specimen, the bronzes were plated over with a thin coating of gold, and many later images show sockets in which jewels were once set. In this way no amount of wealth or labour was spared to make the images rich and beautiful with a view to increase the religious merit of the particular donor concerned.

The method employed in casting bronze or metal images must have been something akin to what is known as *cire perdue* or 'the lost wax' process. A text of the *Silpaśāstras*, quoted by Mr. O. C. Gangoly in his *South Indian Bronzes*,¹ asserts that metal images are made from wax. We do not know the details of this process in Bengal. And hence the system, at present in vogue in Nepal, which, according to the Tibetan historian Tārānātha, derived its bronze-casting from the Eastern school of Dhīmān and Bītapāla, should be compared as the best possible practice. The process, as described by Mr. Bhikhurāj, the owner of an image factory in Nepal, has been given by Mr. N. G. Majumdar,² and is worth mentioning here. The first stage in the casting is the preparation of the wax model (*madhūc = chiṣṭa-vidhānam*). The object to be cast is first modelled in wax, which is wrapped in a thick coating of soft clay mixed with cowdung applied in two or three layers. When sufficiently dry, a few more coatings of clay mixed with husk are applied over it. When dry again, the wax model is melted

¹ *Lohajam sakalam yat = tu madhūc = chiṣṭena nirmmitam* |

² *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, Vol. XL, 1926, p. 426.

away by the application of heat, which leaves a vacuum into which molten amalgam is poured in. After the amalgam has set and cooled the clay mould is removed and the figure chased and chiselled and all the fine finish worked at.

The process, given above, is the very process which the *Viṣṇu Samhitā*, as quoted by Mr. T. A. G. Gopinath Rao,¹ lays down

- ¹ *Lohe sikthamayim = arccāṁ kārāyitrā mṛd = āvṛtam |*
Suvarṇ = ādini saṁśodhya vidrāvya = aṅgāra-vapunaḥ ||
Kuśalailḥ kārāyēd = yatnāt sampūrṇaṁ sarvato ghaṇam ||

Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 51.

Recently I have come by another text describing the process of manufacture of metal images in every detail. It occurs in the *Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi* or *Mānasollāsa*, purported to have been written by king Someśvara Bhūloka-malla of the western Chalukya line of Kalyāṇī, who came to the throne in 1124-25 A.D. A detailed note on the text, which is worth quoting here, will be shortly published in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*.

Navatāla-pramāṇena lakṣaṇena samanvītām |
Pratimāṁ kārāyet pūrvam = uditena vicakṣaṇaḥ ||
Sarv = āvayava-sampūrṇaṁ kiñcit pītāṁ dṛṣoḥ priyām |
Yath = oktair = āyudhair = yuktāṁ bāhubhiḥ = ca yath = oditaiḥ ||
Tat-prṣṭha-skandhadeśe ca kṛkātīyāṁ makute' thavā |
Hemapuṣpanibhaṁ dīrghaṁ nālakam madan = odbhavam ||
Sihāpayitrā tataś = cārcāṁ limpet saṁskṛtayā mṛdā |
Maśiṁ tūṣamāyīm kṛtvā kārpaśaṁ śataśaḥ kṣatam ||
Lavaṇaṁ cūrṇitaṁ ślakṣṇaṁ svalpaṁ samyojayen = mṛdā |
Peṣayet sarvām = ekatre suślakṣṇa ca śilātale ||
Vāratrayaṁ tad = āvarttya tena limpet samantataḥ |
Svacchaḥ syāt prathamō lepaḥ chāyāyīm kṛta-śoṣaṇaḥ ||
Dina-dvaya vyatīte tu dvitīyaḥ syāt = tataḥ punaḥ |
Tasmiṁ = cchuḥke tṛtīyas = tu nivido lepa īṣyate ||
Nālakasya mukhaṁ tyaktvā sarvām = ālepayen = mṛdā |
Śoṣayet = tat prayatnena yuktibhir = buddhimān = naraḥ ||
Sikthakaṁ tolayed = ādau arccā-lagnaṁ vicakṣaṇaḥ |
Ritīyā tāmreṇa raupyeṇa hemnā vā kārāyet = tataḥ ||
Sikthād = daśaguṇaṁ tāmraṁ riti-dravyaṁ ca kalpayet |
Rajataṁ dvādaśa-guṇaṁ hemaḥ syāt ṣoḍaś = ottaram ||
Mṛdā saṁveṣṭayed = dravyaṁ yad = īṣṭaṁ kanaka = ādikam |
Nāliker = ākṛtiṁ mūṣāṁ pūrvavat pariśoṣayet ||
Vahnau pratāpya tām = arccāṁ siktham niḥsārayet = tataḥ |
Mūṣāṁ pratāpayet pascad pāvaka = occhīṣṭa-vahninā ||

for the making of metal images. This process would very nicely suit the making of images in solid metal, as we have in South India and Ceylon. In Bengal, however, as appears from the inner core of non-metallic substances, like charred husk, in case of the present gold-plated image and another of Śrī, about three centuries later in date, from Bogra and now in the museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, the custom seems to have been that the images, at least the bigger ones, were cast hollow, the inner core being stuffed with non-metallic substances. The colossal copper Buddha from Sultangunj also exhibits similar inner stuffing. The process, recounted above, would not explain the existence of a non-metallic inner core, for which probably a somewhat modified method was adopted. It appears that the wax model was worked over and around a stump of husk and other combinations. For a close parallel in the present day mention may be made of the straw core of the clay images of Bengal. The stump remained within the mould even when the wax was melted away. The molten amalgam found its way in the

Rātis = tāmrāṇ ca rasatām nav = āṅgārair = craged = dhrucam |

Tapt = āṅgārair = vinikṣiptai rajataṇ rasatām craget ||

Suvarṇaṇ rasatām yāti pañcakṛtrāḥ pradīpitaiḥ |

Mūṣā-mūrdhani nirmāya randhraṇ lauha-śalākayā ||

Saṁdamśena dr̥ghaṇ dhṛtvā taptāṇ mūṣāṇ samuddharet |

Tapt = āreccā-nālakasy = āsye carttiṇ prajvālitāṇ nyaset ||

Saṁdamśena dhṛtvā mūṣāṇ namayitrā prayatnataḥ |

Rasaṇ tu nālakasy = āsye kṣīped = acchinna-dhārayā ||

Nālak = ānana-paryyantaṇ saṁpūryya viromet = tataḥ |

Sphoṭayet = tu samīpasthaṇ pāvakaṇ tāpa-śāntaye ||

Śītalatvaṇ ca yātāyāṇ pratimāyāṇ svabhāvataḥ |

Sphoṭayen = mṛttikāṇ dagdhāṇ vidagdho laghu-hastakāḥ ||

Tato dravya-mayīsā = āreccā yathā madana-nirmmitā |

Jāyate tādṛśī sāksād = aṅg = opāṅg = opasobhitā ||

Yatra kvāpy = adhikaṇ paśyec = cāraṇais = tat praśāntaye |

Nālakāṇ chedayec = cūpi paścād = ujjvalatāṇ mayet ||

Anena vidhinā samyag = vidhāy = āreccāṇ śubhe tithau |

Vidhivat = tāṇ pratiṣṭhāpya pūjayet pratyahaṇ kramāt ||

crevices between the mould and the stump, encasing the latter all around. The non-metallic substances, like husk in the stump, assumed a charred character, blackish complexion and sufficient hardness in the process of casting.

The present image from Mahāsthān is specially interesting in the fact that it is plated all over with gold. The gold-plating, somewhat thinner than even an egg shell, has crumbled off in a good many places, but sufficient traces still remain to show that the figure must have been a great beauty in its original construction.

Gilt bronze images are well known in the Lamaistic school. In India proper too it is not at all quite rare. Traces of gilding are found in some of the bronzes from Nālanda. In Kurkihar, near Gaya, there has been found a number of gold-plated bronzes of the early Pāla period. From Bengal at least two other gilt bronze images are known up to now. One of them, an image of Sarvānī dedicated by Prabhāvatī, queen of Devakhadga of the Khadga dynasty (seventh century A.D.), was found near Chaudagram in the district of Tipperah, but is now lost. The second is an image of Śrī, of about the ninth century date, hailing from Bogra and now deposited in the museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

It appears therefore that the gilding of images was by no means uncommon in the history Bengali of bronzes. The image from Mahāsthān is the earliest known gilt bronze image not only in Bengal but in Bihar too. I do not know whether any such image of still earlier date has come to light in any other part of India. To us it seems curious how such a fine plating, thinner than even an egg shell, could be produced in those ancient days, so that it sticks to the material even after the lapse of so many centuries. It will not be out of place, I think, if I quote again Mr. Majumdar, who describes,¹ on the information of Mr.

¹ *Modern Review*, Vol. XL, p. 427.

Bhikhurāj, the traditional, but crude, method of gilding bronzes, which the Newari artists of Nepal has preserved to this day. "On the chiselled smooth surface of the image they apply a preparation of mercury and then a quasi-liquid paint, of which the chief ingredients are gold dust and mercury. Finally the image is heated in cowdung fire." It appears that mercury evaporates in course of heating leaving an even deposit of fine gold all over the image. The plating is complete and it sticks permanently to the surface of the image.

Barring some sculptures stuck to the basement wall of the Paharpur temple, which should be dealt with as a separate episode, the above three—the Biharail Buddha, the Mahāsthān Mañjūsri and the Deora Sūrya—are all that we know of Gupta sculptures in Bengal. All these three exhibit the sublime spiritualism of the Sarnath figures combined with the emotionalism of its eastern version, recognised by Dr. Kramrisch, in a more or less degree. They all hail from North Bengal, roughly the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* of those times, which is conspicuous as bringing to light no less than eight copper-plate inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. It may be assumed hence that similar other sculptures may turn up on a proper exploration of the earlier sites. A miniature image of *Simhāvahinī* (Durgā) from Pokharna¹—the Puṣkaraṇā of the Susunia inscription of Chandravarman—and now in the collection of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D.Lit., in Calcutta, is purported to have been Gupta by so high authorities as Dr. Stella Kramrisch and Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda. The image in question however is too hopelessly mutilated to yield any basis for ascertaining its date or its artistic merit.

A unique image in greyish black stone, representing Viṣṇu seated on the outstretched wings of its vehicle, the Garuḍa and exhibiting strange peculiarities in the form and disposition of the attributes held in the hands, is now being worshipped at Lakṣhanakati in the district of Backergunge. Dr. Bhattasali

describes it as "a very old piece of sculpture" which can "safely be ascribed to the pre-Pāla period."¹ There is, further, if I am not wrong, an indirect hint as to its belonging to the Gupta period. But stylistic and other considerations, such as, the rectangular stele with the edges incised with half-lotus patterns, facial and bodily treatment, the sensitive bends of the slender fingers as they hold the attributes, the rather high and ornamented crown (*kirīta*), the conventional method of depicting the *vanamālā* and the *upavīta* all remind us of obvious Pāla affinities and the image can possibly, on no account, be dated earlier than the ninth century A.D.

Though not strictly coming under the term Gupta, which as a culture period is usually taken to cover a period from the fourth to the sixth centuries A.D., two other images, which can be definitely dated in the seventh, should also be mentioned here. Both the images are in octo-alloy and have been unearthed together from Chauddagam in the district of Tipperah. One of the images, that of an eight-handed goddess designated as Sarvāṇī, was gilt, according to the inscription which it bears, with leaves of gold by queen Prabhāvatī, wife of king Devakhaḍga. Devakhaḍga is known from his inscription and that of his son, both found at Ashrapur in the Dacca district, as well as from the account of the Chinese traveller, It sing, to have been ruling in Eastern India in the seventh century A.D. These images, thus possess the unique advantage of being dated with a precision, which very few of the Bengal sculptures seldom have. The first image,² which is now lost, shows the eight-handed goddess standing erect on the back of her vehicle, a couchant lion, between two female attendants on two sides holding fly-whisks. She holds discus, sword, arrow and conch-shell in her right hands, beginning from the top, and shield,

¹ Bhattasali, N. K., *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahminical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, p. 87, Pl. XXXII.

² *Ibid*, p. 204, Pl. LXX; French, J. C., *The Art of the Pal Empire of Bengal*, p. 3, Pl. II; Banerjee, R. D., *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, Pl. I, c.

bow, trident and bell in the left, in the same order. For iconographic associations of the image reference ought to be made to Dr. Bhattasali, who quotes a *dhyāna* from the *Śāradātilakatantra* corresponding to the image in almost every particular. The other image,¹ which has been acquired for the Dacca Museum, is a miniature about six inches in height, and represents the Sun-god Sūrya, seated cross-legged in his car drawn by seven spirited horses. As usual he holds a pair of lotuses in his two hands. On two sides sit Piṅgala, with a short beard, to right and Daṇḍī to left and Uṣā and Pratyusā stand at the extreme ends shooting arrows. In point of iconographic composition the image closely corresponds to the Deora image of Sūrya, described above, except that the present example represents a seated specimen of the Sun-god, which is usually very rare.

Coming between the Gupta and the Pāla schools of art these images, as is to be naturally expected, represent in some respects the transition from the former to the latter. In the seventh century the Gupta art, exhausted as it were, lost its common Indian character. Coming into contact with different local traditions, which gradually began asserting themselves, like the people of different parts of India in the political sphere, it gave rise to local types or styles in art, which gradually became recognised as different provincial schools in the mediaeval art of India. Among these provincial schools the Pāla school (c. eighth to twelfth centuries A.D.), with its zone in Bengal and Bihar, is one of the most remarkable. Here, in the above two specimens we find that the Gupta art has already underwent a change, apparently as a result of contact with the indigenous art tradition in Bengal, the existence of which, even in the earlier days, may be inferred from what will be described later as the third group of sculptures at Paharpur (which, however, is to be dated approximately in the eighth century A.D.). This contact and the resulting compromise between the two is clearly visible in the

¹ Bhattasali. N. K., *op. cit.*, p. 172, Pl. LIX.

second group of Paharpur sculptures, which will be fully dealt with later on. The stiff and erect Sarvāṇī is very likely an antecedent of the conventional Pāla image, while the surrounding rim, to which the goddess' hands and other ill-fitting decorative designs serve as struts, may be an anticipation of latter's stele composition. The Sūrya image with its composite elements of attendants, charioteer, horses, etc., represents not a very distant approach to the full-fledged stele type of Pāla art. Some critics would blame a Pāla sculpture as being stiff, rigid and conventional. But they forget that the more rigid lines of the main figure appear to be consciously contrasted with the flowing rhythm of the attendant figures, the vigour of the animal and decorative motifs, etc. This characteristic of Pāla art is even now conspicuous in these images, where the rhythmic flexions of the female attendants in the image of Sarvāṇī, the vigour and spirited attitudes of Uṣā and Pratyusā and of the horses in the Sūrya image offer pleasing contrasts to the stiff poses of the deities—one standing perpendicularly erect in *samapadasthānaka*, the other sitting quite straight in rigid *paryaṅkavandha*. In these respects these two images of the seventh century represent a near approach to Pāla art, perhaps nearer than, and consequently later to, the second group of Paharpur sculptures. What later on came to be known as the Pāla type is apparent in these images, but as the term, Pāla, would be an anachronism, they should better be known as pre-Pāla.

CHAPTER IV

SCULPTURES AT PAHARPUR

Preliminary Remarks

The excavations at Paharpur have yielded heaps of materials for the archaeologist and the antiquarian. To the historian of Bengal art they have supplied the evidence of the existence of a flourishing period of sculpture in Bengal before the Pāla school of art took its rise. The lower part of what now appears to be the basement wall of the main temple is decorated with stone sculptures of no mean merit. These sculptures numbering sixty-three in all, are generally in a tolerably fair state of preservation owing to their protection by the accumulation of silt and debris around the basement of the temple. They are extraordinarily varied from the stylistic point of view as well as from the point of view of subject-matter. Almost without exception they represent the Brahminic pantheon. The series includes some of the earliest and artistic representations of the exploits of divine Kṛṣṇa in his boyhood and, if we are to believe Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., the earliest known image of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The images of Balarāma, Yamunā, Śiva, etc., may be regarded as noteworthy productions of the art of Paharpur. Besides, we have the figures of *dīkpālas*—Indra, Agni, Yama(?), and Kuvera,—of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Br̥haspati, the preceptor of the gods, Chandra, Manu, etc., of *dvārapālas*, dancers, and so on. We can recognise also several representations of scenes from the Hindu epics—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Thus, by their wide variety the Paharpur sculptures are of great interest to, and worthy of careful study by, any student of Bengal history.

Some scholars would think that at Paharpur we have a

art and foreshadowing the characteristics of Pāla art.”¹ The sculptures, as we have just remarked, are so extraordinarily varied that they are bound to puzzle any student of art history, and extreme caution is necessary when studying and making any definite statement regarding them. The theory of a school of sculpture, “differentiated from Gupta art and foreshadowing the characteristics of Pāla art” is not true of all the sculptures at Paharpur. It is obvious, as we shall presently see, that in some of the sculptures the Gupta tradition, in what Dr. Kramrisch recognises as its eastern version, was followed. But there are also others, and these form the majority, which show a distinct group, that may be said to be quite separate from, or only very slightly related to, Gupta art. This, on a careful study, would prove to be the indigenous trend in the art of Paharpur. But this, by itself, does not give rise to Pāla art and there is a third group, intermediate to, and a compromise between, the Gupta and the indigenous trends, from which the Pāla school of art took its rise. Of course, it is very difficult to say, before we analyse the details, whether these groups were removed from one another by a difference in time. The complex group of sculptures are varied in quality and exhibit great contrast in workmanship. It is obvious hence that extreme caution is necessary when dating any particular sculpture or sculptures, especially when there is no epigraphic or palaeographic basis and we have to depend solely on the testimony of style.

Messrs. R. D. Banerjee and K. N. Dikshit are of opinion that the sculptures on the face of the walls of the main temple at Paharpur are “one and all attributable to the same early period as the original construction of the temple,” which they fix as the sixth century A. D. From the point of view of style, workmanship and quality however these sculptures exhibit three distinct groups, as a careful analysis is apt to show. We shall

¹ Chatterjee, Dr. Suniti Kumar, *The Pāla Art of Gauda and Magadha—Modern Review*, Vol. XLV, p. 85.

distinguish them as the first, the second and the third groups and next proceed to the question of their chronology.

The first group of sculptures at Parharpur, represented by only a few specimens, exhibits the following characteristics :—

The bodily forms, though generally heavy, shows the soft and tender modelling and the refinement and delicacy of features. It is only in the so-called Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa (?) group (Fig. 8) that we find the slender type. In case of the male figures we usually find the broad chest, smoothly gliding down to a narrow waist, whence in its downward course the line again bulges a little in case of the hips and gradually flows down to the pedestal in the soft and sensuous modelling of the legs. The bulging breasts and hips and the soft and graceful folds of the belly in case of the female figures add to the beauty of female form. In linear effect we have always the smooth and gliding line, which gives an impression of soft elasticity and pliability all through. The features are well defined and the forms well proportioned. The face is generally broad, sometimes with the pointed chin. The eye brows, indicated only in faint lines melting on the forehead itself, meet at the root of the nose in a descending curve. Pupils are well marked and in case of the Śiva figure (1312 N. S.) we have the eyeballs marked by a shallow circular line. The mouth is generally well modelled and is a perfect crescent but for the downward stroke at the centre of the lips. The chin is broad and at times heavy (Śaivaite panel—Fig. 11, Yamunā—Fig. 9), though the pointed chin may be noticed in case of Balarāma (Fig. 10) and the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa (?) group (Fig. 8). There is always the *trivali* mark on the neck and the navel, as a rule, is always indicated. The slight bulge of the belly below the navel is also a pleasing feature which we notice in some of the sculptures.

The hair is usually tied in a knot above the head. In case of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa (?) group it falls in curls at the back and the sides. The clothing is represented as fitting tight to the persons of the men, in whose case it reaches only to the knees,

while that of women is loose and reaches to the ankles. The upper part of the body, whether of the male or of the female, is bare, except in one solitary instance, where we find one of the ladies in the Śaivaite panel provided with a breastband (*kuca-patta*). The drapery is diaphanous, but the diaphanous effect is sometimes sought to be suppressed by close and parallel folds (Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa group ? , Yamunā). But, in spite of the folds, the diaphaneity is apparent, as the drapery, clinging fast to the body, corresponds to every minute modelling of it. An almost similar arrangement of the folds may be noticed in a Sanchi sculpture, at one time crowning a Gupta pillar at that holy site.¹

The ornaments are simple and in good taste. We have generally a pair of ear-pendants, one necklet, a pair each of armlets and bracelets, waistband and a pair of anklets, the last only in case of the female figures. We thus see no overcrowding of ornaments, as we are accustomed to in the later sculptures.

Aesthetically too this group of sculptures at Paharpur exhibits charming features. The naivete, suavity and massiveness are all enlinked and synthetised into pleasing specimens of art, which are certainly quite near to the heyday of Gupta art. The drawing of the figures is generally spirited and the attitude is not only easy but graceful and the expression dignified. The smooth and gliding linear effect is marvellous. The over-full breasts and the bulging hips of the female figures do not affect at all the soft flowing line. Kālidāsa, the classical poet of India, mentions these features among the many enchanting charms of female beauty and how nicely do we find these idealistic conceptions given plastic form in stone. There is no over-ornamentation, no complexity of design. The beauty of sculptured form is set against a plain background with only a decorated framework fringing the niche, and is embellished by a few but elegant ornaments. It is in this group again that the inner spiritualism of the Sarnath school is still apparent and may be felt in

¹ Marshall, Sir John, *A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 98. Pl. X. b.

combination with the warm sensuousness and emotionalism of its eastern version. In this respect and in point of general execution and treatment this group of sculptures at Paharpur is not removed from the stucco reliefs of Maniyar matha, Rajagriha, or from the Deora Sūrya or Mahasthan Mañjuśrī, described above, and cannot be far removed from them in date.

The second group of sculptures, of which there are some fifteen specimens, is marked by general heaviness all through. The bodily forms are usually flabby and distended. The definition of features is there, but there is not the same refinement and delicacy as in the former group. Form and proportion too are generally deteriorated. Again, there is not the same gliding linearism as in the first group, and at times it appears to be sharply broken. Though the sculptures are sometimes marked by lively action and movement (*cf.* the panel depicting Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma fighting with Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika—Fig. 13), in case of the simple standing figures there is a straightening and stiffening of the pose and the legs, with slight or no modelling at all, look more like posts supporting a rather heavy torso. In most of the specimens the face is broad and, not unoften, heavy. The eyebrows are more strongly curved and in majority of the cases an incised line above gives them a modelled effect. Not unoften there is an incised line above the pupils (Yama ?—1315 N.S.). The shape of the mouth remains unchanged, but in a few instances the downward stroke at the centre of the lips has been done away with, thus giving the mouth a perfectly crescent shape (Indra—Fig. 15). In one instance again (Siva—1316 N.S.) there is rather a distortion of the mouth and the eyes. The folds of the neck and of the belly, where there are any, are more or less schematic. The drapery too is a little heavy and, not rarely, the ornaments are rather coarse.

Next, we come to the third group, containing by far the largest number of sculptures. The figures are exceptionally heavy with neither the proportion nor the definition of form. In case of the simple standing figures, which happily are not too

many, the legs are perfect columns supporting a rather weighty bust. The hands too look like staffs with arms and palms distorted to an extent. The execution and modelling are crude in the extreme. The features are invariably too sharply defined and there is little or no attempt at all at transitional planes. Instead of the beautiful and naturalistic folds of the belly, which we notice in the first and sometimes in the second group, we have extremely crude and schematic lines (Gañesa—1279 N.S., Amorous couple—1284 N.S.). The smooth and gliding linear rhythm is altogether lacking. Face is extremely broad with every line sharply defined. The eyes are bulging and the mouth is perfectly crescent-shaped. The heavy drapery hangs down completely covering the body underneath, or in majority of instances we have a close-fitting garment, which looks like a pair of shorts clinging fast to the waist and the thighs. Instead of the fine girdles and ornaments and pleasing decorative designs that we notice in the first group of sculptures, we have crude and heavy imitations of the same. Quite surprisingly, however, these sculptures are almost invariably marked by a most lively action and naturalistic and unsophisticated expression.

Now, such a stylistic grouping as the above is unmistakable in the Paharpur sculptures, and in view of this varied contrast in workmanship and artistic quality it is difficult to hold that all the sculptures belong to a single period. The main argument of Mr. Dikshit's theory of a single period of execution¹ is that the general ground plan of the basement wall, to which the sculptures are attached, shows uniform features and refer to a single period of construction. The scheme of embellishment of this basement wall with sculptured stone panels should thus, in his opinion, refer to the same epoch. He however ignored the great variety in style, which the sculptures betray, and hence has taken no trouble to explain it. The Paharpur shrine appears to be one of the most complex group of monuments.

¹ A. S. I. A. R., 1927-28, p. 33.

Inscriptions and coins range in date from the fifth to the eleventh centuries A.D. and the sculptures on the face of the walls of the temple are extraordinarily varied, stylistically as well as from the point of view of subject-matter. It is apparent hence that the life of the buildings at Paharpur extends over a long period, probably full of vicissitudes and the inference, that the sculptural decoration on the face of the walls might have been tampered with, is not at all an impossible idea. The fact that some of the panels do not exactly fit in with their respective niches lends support to this assumption. It should be noted also that each distinct group has its own distinct material, which is used in the majority of the sculptures of that particular group—e.g., grey sandstone in the first group, bluish basalt in the second and black basalt in the third.

At first, Dr. Kramrisch, possibly having in view the wide diversity in style, was in favour of a grouping of the Paharpur sculptures into three different periods.¹ She has however changed her opinion and now thinks that the sculptured panels on the basement wall of the Paharpur temple are one and all to be relegated to the same period, the seventh century A.D. She would now attribute the divergence in style to different trends or traditions. Thus she writes, "The stone panels from Paharpur, North Bengal, belong to two traditions—the one, numerically in the minority, is an eastern and provincial version of contemporary sculpture in Madhyadeśa, but the other is an undiluted and indigenous eastern Indian contribution. Significantly enough, the latter is mainly employed in showing events from the life of Kṛṣṇa and other animated scenes and figures. But when divinities are represented in *samapadasthānaka* a hybrid compromise between the tradition of Gupta sculpture of Madhyadeśa and Bengali form is arrived at. From these the cult images of the Pala and Sena school take beginning."²

¹ Pala and Sena Sculpture, *Rūpam*, No. 40, p. 108.
² *Sculpture*, p. 216

It is thus evident from the above that Dr. Kramrisch too agrees in recognising three distinct groups in the Paharpur sculptures. Her 'eastern and provincial version of contemporary sculpture in Madhyadeśa' is no doubt represented by what we have designated as the first group, and the indigenous tradition by the third. The second group, which is stylistically midway between the two, represents the 'hybrid compromise' between the two traditions. It is quite possible, as Dr. Kramrisch thinks, that two different trends, two different traditions, were at work at Paharpur, and were responsible for their diversity in style. No two groups can possibly be the work of the same hand or the same tradition. At least the first and the third groups are so widely apart that the very idea is next to an absurdity. This first group, as we have remarked, was very near to the heyday of Gupta art. The term 'Gupta' in its eastern version, both in style and spirit, is an apt classification. For very coarse work—almost primitive and childish—as we have in the third group, the term indigenous or folk art would be suitable description. Bengal is the land of potters and here we have, so to say, potter's art in the medium of stone. But though in stone, it is terra-cotta in technique. Thus far we are quite in agreement with Dr. Kramrisch and also with her remarks about the second group, her 'hybrid compromise,' giving rise to the Pāla and Sena school of art.

Explaining the diversity in style and workmanship as but the result of different traditions Dr. Kramrisch assigns them all to the same epoch of construction. Here, however, we beg to differ from her. All these three groups cannot possibly be the work of the same period. Dr. Kramrisch's theory of different traditions alone fails to explain several factors, which we shall presently see, and it is better to recognise, along with different trends, different periods in the art of Paharpur.

Technically the second and the third groups of sculptures at Paharpur appear to be the descendants of the first group with much of its purity and delicacy of design gradually disappearing

and ultimately lost in course of ages. When we analyse the three groups we cannot but notice a gradual deterioration and ultimate extinction of the secret of finer and smoother modelling and of other Gupta features that we notice in the first group,—such as the softer linear rhythm, inner spiritualism, beautiful and naturalistic folds of the neck and of the belly, beautiful decorative designs, carvings and ornaments, etc.—in the second and also in the third. In view of these the inference that these distinct groups were also differentiated chronologically appears all the more probable. In that case we may fix the chronology thus—sixth century for the first group, seventh for the second and eighth for the third. It is possible that the first and the second groups belong to one epoch, say the seventh century A.D., and in that case we may explain the distinction in style and workmanship, one as an eastern Indian version of the Gupta trend, and the other as a result of the indigenous trend coming into contact with the former and evolving a form, which though a little deteriorated technically—the indigenous artists being no good technicians,—are sometimes endowed with lively action and expression (panel depicting Kṛṣṇa uprooting the twin trees—Fig. 14; Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma wrestling with Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika—Fig. 13), when there is any opportunity for such. This appears to be the distinct indigenous contribution to the art of Paharpur. It can be inferred from the third group, which is however to be dated in the eighth century, that an indigenous art tradition existed in Bengal in the earlier period too, and this indigenous art, which was primarily an art of action, coming into touch with the Gupta trend, evolved the second group of sculptures at Paharpur. But spell-bound as the indigenous artists were by the technical perfection and the spirit of all-pervading calmness of Gupta tradition, either contemporary or only slightly earlier, that the art of action got a check and the compromise between the Gupta and indigenous trends gave rise to independent images, stiff and conventional, which by far form the majority of the second group, and from which we may trace the

beginning of the stiff, erect and conventional cult images of the Pāla period. The two metal images from Chauddagaram of the seventh century, discussed in the previous chapter, appear to be the logical sequence of these Paharpur reliefs, which as yet lack the stele composition of Pāla art with the stereotyped iconographic elements. The indigenous tradition, by contact with the Gupta tradition as evidenced in the second group, improved its technique but sacrificed that powerful action and expression for which only it should deserve credit. Even if the first and the second groups belong to one period, the third group can, by no means, be the work of the same. Such a hypothesis would naturally presuppose the working of the same tendency of sacrificing movement, action and expression to an unsatisfactory imitation of physical form. But such a tendency is entirely lacking in this group and the indigenous tradition remains, as Dr. Kramrisch rightly states 'genuine' and 'undiluted.' The artists of this group apparently had not the advantage, or disadvantage, of coming into personal contact with the masters of the first group of sculptures. They came to work, perhaps a century or two later, when the artists of the first group had long passed away and the spell of their art spent up. And hence their works, though not marked and stamped by technical perfection, yet show such 'immediate power,' 'purposeful rhythm' and the most unsophisticated expression, which are certainly of deeper artistic significance. They exhibit superb expressiveness, the free and sometimes the dynamic movement, the joy, the mirth and sorrows of everyday life, etc., in a most wonderful way and should rank high in the estimation of connoisseurs. It is regrettable that in the subsequent Pāla and Sena school this was given but little scope, but it survives in the terra-cotta decoration of the post-Muhammadan temples of Bengal and can be traced as late as the 19th century in Bengal scroll paintings and book covers.

CHAPTER V

PAHARPUR SCULPTURES (*contd.*)

First Group.

A description of the more important sculptures ¹ should now be given. In doing so we shall proceed group by group, beginning with the first.

The charming and finely executed panel (Fig. 8) in the eastern wall, depicting an amatory couple, has been described as Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā by Mr. K. N. Dikshit.² We find a male and a female figure standing side by side with legs crossed and arms passed round each other. The left hand of the male figure is placed in front of the chest in what looks like *abhaya-mudrā* (pose of granting assurance), while the right hand of the female figure hangs down as in *varada-mudrā* (gift-bestowing pose). The almost wig-like arrangement of the hair of the male figure is of particular interest. The parallel wavy folds of the drapery are also worth mentioning. The right leg of the female figure seems distorted. Yet, the easy and graceful pose, combined with an elegant and restrained dignity, is apparent. The shy and graceful smile on the beautiful oval face of the female figure is superb. There are also several other amatory couples depicted at Paharpur, but this particular one differs from them in its dignified restraint and the divinity of the couple is indicated by a halo, shown round the head of each. We have, however, nothing definite in the panel to identify the pair as Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. From the above features indicating divinity, from the frequency of

¹ Only the published sculptures can be reproduced here thus leaving out many rare and interesting specimens. They have been described with reference to the numbers of negatives preserved in the office of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle.

² A.S.I., A.R., 1926-27, Pl. XXXII, c, pp. 140 and 145.

Kṛṣṇaite scenes at Paharpur and from its position in the same wall that contains Balarāma and Yamunā figures, Mr. Dikshit's interpretation may appear to be a probable one, which, if correct, would give us perhaps the first plastic representation of a motif, so common, rather prolific, in the neo-Vaiṣṇavite art of Bengal.

In judging the question, we should however note that Rādhā's association with Kṛṣṇa appears to be a rather late feature in the Kṛṣṇa legend, as her name and her relations with Kṛṣṇa are but seldom mentioned in the Epics and the *Purāṇas*. The *Mahābhārata* does nowhere mention Kṛṣṇa's questionable relations with Rādhā or with any of the *gopīs* (milkmaid-girls). In the *Sālyaparvan* Duryodhana, after his thigh is broken, vilifies Kṛṣṇa. In the *Sabhāparvan* Śiśupāla reviles him. But both of them have nothing to say against Kṛṣṇa's character or his amours with the *gopīs*, even in vilification. It is thus reasonable to think that this feature, the amorous element of the Kṛṣṇa myth, was not known when the *Mahābhārata*, in its present shape, was composed. The *Harivaṃśa* is perhaps the earliest work to treat systematically the life of Kṛṣṇa. The amorous element has been introduced in this work. It consists of Kṛṣṇa's love for the *gopīs* and their dances in the moonlit night in autumn. But even in these scenes the name of Rādhā has nowhere been mentioned. The description of Kṛṣṇa's dance with the *gopīs* is more elaborate in the *Brahma-* and the *Viṣṇu-purāṇas*, but there too the name of Rādhā does not occur. The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* is the authority in pre- or even post-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism, and in this work too, though the loves of Kṛṣṇa with the *gopīs* are fully dealt with, the name of Rādhā or of any individual girl is significantly absent. Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., PH.D. of the Calcutta University, mentions that the Prākṛt work, the *Gāthā saptaśatī* of Hāla, contains several stanzas on the amours of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā and other *gopīs*.¹ The date of

¹ Sen, Sukumar, *History of Brajabuli Literature* p. 484.

Rādhā and it is but reasonable to assume from this omission that Rādhā who later on put into the shade Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā, the legally married wives of Kṛṣṇa, has not yet grown important enough to be specially connected with the image of Kṛṣṇa. So, if the amatory couple at Paharpur has anything to do with the Kṛṣṇa legend it is better to describe them either as Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī or as Kṛṣṇa and Satyabhāmā.

A sculpture (Fig. 9) next to this group, representing the river goddess Yamunā, belongs also to the first group of sculptures at Paharpur. The goddess stands in three-quarter profile on her vehicle, the tortoise, her left hand to waist (*kaṭihastā*) and right holding a lotus flower with a goose perched on it. On either side we find two attendants, a male with an umbrella over the goddess' head and a female with a flower basket in her left hand, the right bearing something (perhaps a flower), which is missing. Both stand on what look like crabs. On the back slab may be seen another lotus plant with a pair of geese on it. All the figures are gracefully posed and modelled, the female ones having their garments marked by close horizontal folds. The face of the goddess is a little abraded, and the rather heavy cheeks and chin mar a little the aesthetic beauty of the figure. The little attendant lady to the left however is a perfect gem of art. Her smooth and elegant eyes, though abraded, appear to convey great spirituality. Her graceful stoop, supple waist, a little bulging hips and the sensitive folds of the belly convey charm, female grace and refined beauty and reminds us of the stucco *nāginī* from Maniyar Matha or the Besnagar Gaṅgā.

Independent cult images of the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā are very rare. In the Gupta period they invariably appear on both sides of the door as guardian deities protecting the entrance of the temple and as parts of its decoration. In the subsequent ages too this is also their primary function in art. Here too, as in other sculptures at Paharpur, the Yamunā relief cannot be said to have any cult significance, but appear as a decorative element of the wall of the temple. The *Agnipurāṇa*

text¹ gives waterpot as an attribute of Yamunā, and such images are fairly known. Blue lotus may also be an attribute of Yamunā according to the *Viṣṇudharmottaram*.² Lotus, either singly or in accompaniment with the water jar, and garland can also be seen in a few known sculptures. The connection of geese with Yamunā, as we find here, is however, difficult to explain. A similar occurrence may be found on an almost contemporary door jamb at Dah Parbatiya, near Tezpur in Assam.³

A grey sandstone sculpture of Balarāma (Fig. 10), the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, may also be stylistically placed in the first group. But, before entering into the description of the image, I think, it will not be out of place here to give at the outset the iconographic details that the god is to exhibit generally in his images.

Balabhadra, Balarāma or Rāma is one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, but his worship as an independent deity is but rarely met with. Occasionally he is worshipped in the company of his younger brother, Kṛṣṇa, whose glory and popularity have put the elder brother into the shade. A plough (*hala*, *lāṅgala* or *sīra*) and a club (*mūṣala*) are his distinctive cognisances, from which he derives such names as *Lāṅgalin*, *Hala-dhara*, *Halāyudha*, *Halapāṇi*, *Sīrapāṇi*, *Sīrāyudha*, *Sīrabhṛt*, *Sirin*, *Mūṣalāyudha*, *Mūṣalapāṇi*, *Mūṣalin*, etc. He is also known as *Rauhineya* (son of Rohiṇī) and the story is that he was conceived as the seventh son of Devakī, but, for fear of Kāṁsa, was transferred to the womb of Rohiṇī, another wife of Vasudeva. Both the two-handed and four-handed specimens are spoken of in literature. In his two-handed representations he is to carry *mūṣala* and *hala* in the right and left hands respectively (*dakṣhiṇa-hastena mūṣaladharam vāma-hastena*

¹ *Kūrmagā Yamunā kumbha-karā śyāmā ca pūjyate* |

² *Vāme tu Yamunā kāryyā kūrma-saṁsthā sacāmarā* |
Nīlotpala-karā saumyā nīla-nīraja-sannibhā ||

Viṣṇudharmottaram, III, 52.

³ *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1924-25, Pl. XXXII, c.

hala-dharam).¹ These, along with his snake canopy, which marks him out as the incarnation of the mythical serpent Ananta as is found somewhere,² are the three main cognisances of the deity. In the four-handed specimens the *Agnipurāṇa*³ adds *cakra* and *śaṅkha* (discus and conchshell), both distinctive attributes of Viṣṇu. The *Hayaśīrṣapāñcarātra*⁴ has a similar *dhyāna* prescribing *lāṅgala*, *mūṣala*, *śaṅkha*, and *cakra* in the four hands. As alternatives it would place *gadā* (mace) and *Kṛpāṇa* (sword) or *gadā* (mace) and *padma* (lotus) in place of the conchshell and the discus. Another verse in the same text again does away altogether with *hala* and *mūṣala* and lays down that he is to exhibit *śaṅkha* (conch), *cakra* (discus), *gadā* (mace) and *varada* (gift-bestowing pose) in the four hands, exactly like Viṣṇu. We should however note that *hala* and *mūṣala* are but never-failing attributes of the images of Balarāma and the specimens, hitherto known, never shows any of the additional attributes that the *Agnipurāṇa* or the *Hayaśīrṣapāñcarātra* speaks of.

According to iconographic texts his complexion should be white (*svetābhaṃ*—*Vaikhānasāgama*; *śaṅkhendu-mṛṇāla-gaura-tanuḥ*—*Bṛhatsamhitā*, Chap. 57; *śvetaḥ*—*Viṣṇudharmottaram*, III,

¹ *Vaikhānasāgama*, quoted by Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, App., p. 44.

² *Agni-purāṇa*, Chap. 15 :

Balabhadro'nanta-mūrttiḥ |

Cf. also *Harivaṃsa*, Chap. 64, v. 47, where Kṛṣṇa himself praises Balarāma as the ever-existent ancient Śeṣa.

³ *Op. c. it.*, Chap. 49 :

Gadā-lāṅgala-dhārī ca Rāmo vā'tha catur= bhujah ||

Vam= ordhve lāṅgalaṃ dadyād= adhaḥ śaṅkhaṃ suśobhanam |

Mūṣalaṃ dakṣiṇ= ordhve tu cakraṇ= c= ādhaḥ suśobhanam ||

⁴ *Hayaśīrṣapāñcarātra* (MS. in Kumar, S. K. Ray's collection), *Ādi-kāṇḍa*, Chap. 23 :

Tṛtīyaṇ= ca tathā Rāmaṃ catur= bāhuṃ śṛṇuṣva me |

Vām= ordhve lāṅgalaṃ dadyād= adhaḥ śaṅkhaṃ suśobhanam ||

Mūṣalaṃ dakṣiṇ= ordhve tu cakraṇ= c= ādhaḥ suśobhanam |

Gadāṃ kṛpāṇaṃ vā dadyāt samsthāne śaṅkha-cakraṇor ||

Also *ibid.* Chap. 24 :

Baladevaś= catur= bāhuḥ kuṇḍal= aṅga-vibhūṣitaḥ |

Lāṅgālī mūṣālī devo gadā-padma-dhara vibhūḥ ||

Śaṅkha-cakra-gadāpāṇiḥ karttavyo varado'thavā |

Chap. 85) and his garments either red (*rakta-vastra-dharam—Vaikhānasāgama*) or blue (*nilavasanaḥ—Viṣṇudharmmottaram*). Again, according to the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* he should have his hair tied up in a knot above the head (*udvaddha-kuntalam*). Balarāma, as we come to know from the *Purāṇas*, was a hard drinker, and quite in keeping with such a character, both the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* and the *Viṣṇudharmmottaram* say that his eyes should be rolling on account of excessive intoxication (*mada-vibhrama-locanaḥ; mado-dañcita-locanaḥ*). Another unique feature of the god as mentioned by the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* and the *Hayaśiṛṣapancarātra* is that he should have only one *kuṇḍala* (ear-pendant) in only one ear (*vibhṛat-kuṇḍalam=ekam; kuṇḍal=aika-vibhūṣitaḥ*).

The image of Balarāma at Paharpur stands on a plain pedestal with a slight and easy bend, as can be recognised in the right hip, and is surmounted by a seven-hooded snake canopy. On two sides there are two attendants, one male and the other female, the latter holding in her two hands a wine flask and a cup. The god has four hands, of which three bear a staff (*mūṣala*), a plough (*hala*) and a cup, while the fourth hand rests on the waist. Indeed, as we have said, a plough and a club are but invariable attributes of Balarāma, and in the known specimens seldom do we find the additional hands bearing either conch and discus, or mace and sword or the four hands conch, discus, mace and gift-bestowing pose. There is a four-handed image of Balarāma at Osia¹ and there we find the additional hands bare. We know of two four-handed specimens of bronze, one from Kurkihar in the Gaya district² and the other from Nalanda in the Patna district,³ both executed during the reign of Devapāla. The Kurkihar specimen has one of the additional hands broken away (perhaps it carried a wine cup) and the other bears perhaps a sweetmeat. In the Nalanda specimen the

¹ *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 113.

² *J.I.S.O.A.*, Vol. II, No. 2, Pl. XXVIII, 1.

³ Banerji, R. D., *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, Pl. I, b.

additional hands hold a dish of sweetmeat and a wine cup. There is again another four-handed specimen in the museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, and there we find all the hands disposed in the same fashion as in that at Paharpur. Of the garments the Paharpur specimen shows, besides the dhoti reaching to the knees and fastened to the waist by a girdle, a scarf passing across the waist, with the frill gracefully hanging down, and a bellyband (*udaravandha*) knotted in front with the ends shown in artistic spirals. Though the attendant figures are a little crude, the smooth execution and naturalistic modelling make the piece one of the beautiful productions in this group. The eyes, with their drooping lids, signify meditation in singular contrast with eyes rolling in intoxication, as prescribed in the texts, but the wine cup held in one hand and the presence of a female attendant bearing wine flask and cup are sufficient testimonies to the Purāṇic stories of drinking orgies which the god is said to have indulged in. The god has his hair gathered up and, with a knot in the middle, the ends have been evenly and artistically arranged in curly rings. The arrangement of the hair in a knot above the head appears to be the usual fashion with the Paharpur figures, but here the artist seems to have bestowed a special care on this feature, perhaps due to the prescription of the *Bṛhatsamhitā*. Another feature, not rare again at Paharpur, is that the god has a prominent circular *kundala* in the right ear but only a tiny ring, almost indistinguishable, in the left; and it cannot but remind us of another peculiarity of Balarāma, namely, that he is to have a single *kundala* in one ear. It is possible that the artist was quite alive to the textual injunction, but being unable to explain this rather irregular feature and as a compromise between his sense of symmetry and fear of violating a Śāstric injunction, he provided his god with so tiny a ring in the left ear that it is sure to be missed, except on a close and minute observation. This is however a mere suggestion and should not be much stressed upon, as two kinds of *kundalas* in the two ears appear to be the

usual practice with the Paharpur artists, the true import of which is yet to come.

Next we come to an image of the god Śiva fixed to the basement of the southern wall of the temple (1312 N.S.). The god stands upright (*samapadasthānaka*) on a plain pedestal with a semicircular projection in the middle. He has two hands. The left hand, hanging down, holds a water jar (*kamaṇḍalu*) and the right, raised to shoulders, a rosary (*akṣamālā*). The matted hair (*jaṭā*) is tied up in a knot above the head, behind which a plain halo is visible. A chain waistband, a necklace of two courses of beads, a pair of bracelets and earrings bedeck his person. A thin sacred thread dangles down across the torso. Otherwise the whole body appears to be naked. The *ūrdhvaliṅga* (penis erectus), which is invariably present in all the Śiva figures at Paharpur, has suffered partial mutilation. The face is rectangular with a broad chin. There is a third eye on forehead, disposed vertically (*ūrdhhvam*), as particularly prescribed by the *Bṛhatsamhitā*,¹ and *trivali* marks on the neck. In physical type the figure is rather heavy. Yet, the soft and sensitive modelling of the whole figure and the beatific expression of the whole face are exquisite.

It should be remarked here that *triśūla* (trident), *nāga* (snake), *ardhacandra* or *indukalā* (crescent) on head and the carrier, *vr̥ṣa* (bull), the inevitable associations of the god Śiva in his images of the Pāla period, are absent in the present sculpture. Yet, the *jaṭāmukuta* (matted tiara), the vertical third eye (peculiar only to Śiva according to the *Bṛhatsamhitā*) and what remains of the *ūrdhvaliṅga* in this image are enough to indicate his identity, and *kamaṇḍalu* and *akṣamālā*, though not his monopolies, are also his attributes in one or other of his forms. It is not the place to describe the development of the iconography of Śiva. That has been attempted by more than one scholar. I have not

¹ *Bṛhatsamhitā*, Chap. 57 :

Sambhoḥ śiras=indukalā vr̥ṣa-dhvajo'kṣi ca tṛtīyam=api co'rdhavam |
Sūlam dhanuḥ pinākam vāmo'rdhve vā Gīri-sut-ārdham ||

come by any corresponding text in the *Purāṇas*, which would explain exactly this severely simple form. The almost contemporary *Bṛhatsamhitā*, which wonderfully explains many of the peculiar features in Paharpur iconography, fails us here. The *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, which, if not exactly contemporary, is not much later to the period of these works, gives a description of Śiva with five faces and ten hands, under the general appellation of *Mahādeva*,¹ i.e., the Great God. This general and all-pervading form, however, is made up of five aspects each distinguished by one face and two hands—known either as Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa and Īśāna, or as Mahādeva, Bhairava, Nandivaktra, Umāvaktra and Sadāśiva, each having his own set of attributes. Mahādeva apart from the all-pervading form, is also one such aspect bearing *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalu*,² and it appears that the present image, exactly corresponding to this description, is but a separate representation of such Mahādeva-aspect in art.

On the east wall may be seen as one approaches the monument, a bas-relief (Fig. 11), which represents Śiva standing in a group.³ Śiva may be seen to proper left of the panel, with a staff, having a broad knob at the top, in his right hand and a cup (?) in his left. His identity is certain from the *urddhvaliṅga*, as he is always represented with at Paharpur. In front, stands a lady with a cup in her left hand, while to her left stands another lady with her hands up and her waist clasped by a small figure. Three other figures (perhaps ascetics, as are to be surmised from the arrangement of the hair), among whom we may recognise the emaciated sage Bhrūgi, appear to extreme proper right. On both sides of Śiva appear two dwarfs and on the background may be seen trees and foliage. The two female figures and Śiva are but sparsely ornamented, and we have in each case,

¹ *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, III, Chap. 48, 1-19.

² *Ibid.*, III, 48, 9.

Mahādeva-kare jñeyā tv = akṣamālā kamaṇḍalu ||

³ *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1926-27, Pl. XXXIII.

a pair of earrings, one necklet, a pair each of armlets and bracelets and a pair of anklets, the last only in case of the female figures.

I think Dr. C. L. Fabri¹ is right when he describes this panel as representing "the mingling of good and poor quality." All the faces exhibit poor workmanship. The lips are not only thick but badly drawn. Eyes too are somewhat crude. The left shoulder of Siva is disproportionately large. But Dr. Fabri is rather unjust when he says that the legs are badly delineated. The legs and feet of Siva and of the female figure, just by his side, are quite naturalistic, while those of the second female figure exhibit an extraordinarily flowing linear rhythm, which can rarely be expected except in early Gupta art. Both Mr. Dikshit and Dr. Fabri agree that the floral decorations and the little attendant at the bottom of the left jamb are 'in the best traditions of Gupta art.' The designs and their drawing and cutting are exquisite and compare favourably with the best specimens of the period, as at Bhumara, Gharwa and Deogarh. "The very fine finish of the stone-cutting," writes Dr. Fabri, "is in strong contrast to the rough sculpturing technique of the human figures, and the grace and harmony of the little swordsman in the fine arched niche are certainly most attractive."

Mr. Dikshit identifies this panel as a representation of the episode of the offering of the poison, which came up as a result of the churning of the ocean, to Siva, and his drinking up of that poison—the story that accounts for the origin of his name *Nīlakanṭha*.² Dr. Fabri too agrees with Mr. Dikshit and he quotes from the *Mahābhārata*³ the theme of Siva's drinking up of the poison, subsequent to the churning of the ocean. The female figure in the centre of the panel is identified with Lakṣmī by both the scholars, and Dr. Fabri goes so far as to suggest indirectly that the stick with a broad knob at the top

¹ *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1932, p. 29.

² *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1926-27, p. 141.

³ *Mahābhārata* (Calcutta edition). *Ādi-parvan*. 1153 ff.

in the hand of Siva may represent the churning stick. The dwarfs on two sides of Siva have been described by Mr. Dikshit merely as attendants, while Dr. Fabri would recognise in them the *dānavas* (demons) in despair. Mr. Dikshit identifies the second female figure as Durgā with the boy Kārttikeya, in great fear and excitement on account of her lord's taking such a risk, and Dr. Fabri quietly agrees to it. The small figure, however, as appears from portions of *kucapaṭṭa* (breastband) still visible, is a female figure and hence cannot be described as Kārttikeya. The sculpture presents very little resemblance to the theme and hence it is difficult to say how far Messrs. Dikshit and Fabri are correct in their interpretation. Moreover, when we enter into the details of the theme we come to notice not too unimportant discrepancies and omissions, which lead to doubts regarding this identification. The *Mahābhārata* text, quoted by Dr. Fabri, gives us the generally current version of the story. In the churning of the ocean by the Devas and the Asuras for nectar one of the things that came up, as a result of excessive churning, was the deadly poison known as *kālakūṭa*. All the world got into a swoon at the very scent of it and Siva at the request of Brahmā and other gods drank up the poison, which did not go down beyond his neck. Poison stuck to his neck left a blue speck there for which he came to be known as *Nīlakanṭha*. The *Matsyapurāṇa*¹ too gives a similar story of the churning of the ocean by the Devas and the Asuras. It graphically describes how *kālakūṭa* came out as a terrible form of blue colour on the ocean, strong like fire, roaring like clouds, throwing off awful breath and enveloping all the *lokas* (worlds) by its body. Unable to bear its deadly influence, and informed by *kālakūṭa* that they should either devour it or go to Siva, the gods and the demons, headed by Brahmā and Viṣṇu, repaired to Siva, who, on the joint prayer of the gods, came down to the coast and quaffed *kālakūṭa*, which stuck to his throat. An almost identical version is given in the

¹ *Matsyapurāṇa*, Chap. 250.

Śivapurāṇa.¹ The same *Purāṇa*, elsewhere² gives us a different story. It is this : “ On account of Śiva’s severe austerities after the self-immolation of Satī, the whole world was on the point of being dried up. On the advice of Brahmā, the gods headed by Indra offered Śiva two vases, one containing nectar in the form of the moon, and the other containing poison. Śiva accepted the offer, first the vase of nectar, which transformed into the crescent on his matted tiara, and next, the vase of poison, with which he anointed his neck. And thus did he come to be known as *Chandraśekhara* and *Nilakaṇṭha*.” We quite understand the offer of nectar in connection with Śiva’s severe austerities and the consequent drying up of the whole creation. The offer was made apparently with the intention that when Śiva would bear it on his head in the form of a crescent that would have the effect of soothing the whole world. But the offer of poison with such a context cannot be satisfactorily explained and it seems that the first version of the story—Śiva’s drinking up of the poison, brought forth in the churning of the ocean—was the generally accepted version of the miracle. According to the story then we should reasonably expect at least Brahmā, Viṣṇu and the other gods in a representative narrative of this theme in art. But the four-faced god, not to say of the others, is significantly absent in the panel. The miracle happened in connection with the churning of the ocean, and some suggestion of this association should naturally be expected, but is conspicuously lacking. Again, though Lakṣmī came up as a result of the churning of the ocean we have nothing in the different versions of the story to connect her, or any other goddess, with the theme of the offer of poison to Śiva, and Mr. Dikshit’s identification of Lakṣmī cannot be said to be nothing but tentative. In view of these, we regret, we cannot lend support to Mr. Dikshit’s interpretation of the panel, the true import of which is still to come.

¹ *Śivapurāṇa, Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā*, Chap. 51.

² *Ibid.*, Chap. 28.

CHAPTER VI

PAHARPUR SCULPTURES (*contd.*)

Second Group

Among the second group of sculptures at Paharpur there are several panels connected with the Kṛṣṇa cult. Of these may be mentioned the panels depicting Kṛṣṇa uprooting the twin Arjuna trees and the fight of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma with Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika, the two wrestlers of Kāṁsa. Another panel (Fig. 12),—and this happens to be a fairly preserved one,—has not, I am afraid, been properly interpreted by Mr. Dikshit, which necessitates a rather detailed discussion of it.¹ This particular sculpture, fixed on the south-east side of the main temple, depicts a male figure, standing to left in three-quarter profile, with his left foot over the head of a grotesque figure, left elbow within the jaws of a demon, a horse or an ass, and right hand turned up to deal it a blow. On two sides there are represented two trees ; that to the proper left with its bare and shaftlike trunk topped by long rectangular leaves pointed at the edges, represents most probably a plantain tree, to be found also in several other sculptures at Paharpur. That to the right represents a tree with branches and heart-shaped foliage, but it is difficult to ascertain, which tree it stands for. The figure is dressed in a lower garment, reaching down to the knees, fastened to the waist by a chain girdle and a scarf is tied round his belly, the frill of which is schematically shewn to his right. The harsh and crude lines of the eyes, with the disproportionate eyeballs protruding out, are in great contrast to the almost spiritual way in which the eyes were depicted in the figures of the first group. The ornaments on his person, especially the torque with

¹ The author's paper on this sculpture was first published in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, 1936, pp. 195-98.

medallions and tiger nails, and hair arranged in tufts (known as *kākapakṣa* or 'crows' wings' in literature),¹ both peculiar to young boys, signify that the hero of the incident depicted is a boy. The peculiar arrangement of the hair, a speciality with young Kṛṣṇa,² connects the incident with his early life, and it is not at all improbable that the sculpture illustrates one of the many exploits of Kṛṣṇa and his elder brother Balarāma.

According to Mr. Dikshit the sculpture represents Balarāma attacking the donkey demon, Dhenuka, the guardian of the palm grove to the north of Govardhana.³ The story of *Dhenukāsura-vadha* has been given in the *Harivaṁśa* and almost all other *Purāṇas* professing to describe the early life of Kṛṣṇa. The story given in all these works is almost the same with the only difference in the *Viṣṇu*-and *Brahma-purāṇas*, that there the exploit is attributed to Kṛṣṇa and not to Balarāma, who, according to the other authorities, is the main actor of this theme. It runs as follows :

"On the banks of the Yamunā to the north of Govardhana there was a forest of *tāla* or palm trees. One day as Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa were taking a stroll there with the cowherds, they caught sight of the tempting clusters of *tāla* fruit, whose fragrance had permeated the whole sylvan atmosphere. They had a strong desire of tasting the ripe fruit, the fragrance of which was so sweet and Balarāma commenced shaking the fruits from the trees. The forest was jealously guarded by a demon, named Dhenuka and his host, all of asinine form. As soon as the sound of falling fruits reached his ears he made for them, bit Balarāma and struck him with his rear legs. Balarāma forthwith seized him by those legs, flourished him in the air and threw him against a palm tree with the result that the ass demon

¹ Cf. Halāyudha, *Abhidhāna Ratnamālā* :

Bālānām tu śikhā proktā kākapakṣaḥ śikhaṇḍikā ।

Also, Hemachandra, *Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi*, 572 :

Sā bālānām kākapakṣaḥ śikhaṇḍaka-śikhaṇḍakau ।

² *Harivaṁśa*, Chap. 67.

³ *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1926-27, p. 144, Pl. XXXII, a.

fell dead with his breast, waist and neck all shattered. After thus killing him he destroyed his host and opened out the whole forest to the cowherds.”

We quote here the story, as given in the *Harivaṃśa*, Chap. 69, rather in detail, to show the wide divergence which the sculpture under notice presents to the story even in its material facts. The description of the sculpture and the story given, the points of divergence are apparent to every one. It appears that a possible resemblance of the quadruped in the sculpture with an ass has led Mr. Dikshit to describe the sculpture as Balarāma fighting the ass demon Dhenuka. He has not given us the story, the main incident we should rather say, as to how the demon was fought and killed. Moreover his attempt to describe the tree to the proper right as a palm, and his statement that it is “more successfully depicted here than in other known examples of the scene” fails to be convincing. Mr. Dikshit has begun his description of the Kṛṣṇa myth at Paharpur with a reference to similar representations of it at Mandor and Badami. There is a representation of *Dhenukāsura-vadha* in a *torāṇa* pillar at Mandor¹ and another at least in a cave at Badami.² There, as narrated in the *Purāṇas* and the *Harivaṃśa*, we find Balarāma in the act of whirling the donkey demon in the air by the hind legs and hurling him against the palm tree, which, in both the reliefs is as much naturalistically depicted as is possible in stone within a space circumscribed. A tree with a plain cylindrical trunk, topped by clusters of fan-shaped leaves and bunches of round fruits,³ as we find in either of these reliefs, is certainly a more successful representation of the palm in comparison with a tree with long rectangular leaves, pointed at the edges, of the Paharpur sculpture.

The sculpture thus does not refer to the scene of *Dhenukāsura-vadha*, as it does not tally with the legend even in its principal

¹ *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1905-06, p. 138, Fig. 2.

² *Mem., A.S.I.*, No. 25, p. 53, Pl. XXIV, b.

³ *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1905-06, p. 138, Fig. 2.

theme. The only story to which the sculpture fully conforms is that of *Keśi-nidhana* or the slaying of the demon Keśin by Kṛṣṇa. The legend, as told in the *Purāṇas*, runs thus :

“When the attempts of Putanā, Dhenuka, Pralamba, Ariṣṭa, etc., to destroy Kṛṣṇa failed, Kāṁsa sent for Keśin, a demon of uncommon strength, and commissioned him to proceed immediately for Vṛndāvana to kill the nephew who was destined to put an end to him and his evil ways. Accordingly Keśin appeared in Vṛndāvana in the form of a powerful horse and set fear into the hearts of the people by his uncommon size, his thundering neighs and incessant striking of hoofs. They took refuge with Kṛṣṇa, who came to the demon and challenged him. The demon ran towards Kṛṣṇa with open jaws to devour him. Kṛṣṇa thrust his elbow into the jaws of the demon, whose teeth were all uprooted in his attempt to tear away the arm of Kṛṣṇa. Then, by his divine power Kṛṣṇa made his arm swell within the jaws of the demon, who fell to the ground with his jaws torn asunder and vomiting blood, and bloodshot eyes coming out of the sockets. The inmates of Vṛndāvana, their fear dispelled, hailed Kṛṣṇa with acclamations and gods showered flowers on him from the heaven.”¹

The story told, every casual observer sees through the sculpture, which really represents Kṛṣṇa fighting with Keśin in the form of a horse and finally killing him. He has his left elbow thrust into the jaws of the demon, as is required by the texts, and the right arm engaged in dealing out blows. The figure under the foot of Kṛṣṇa most probably represents the final episode of the story when the demon has fallen to the ground and has assumed his normal shape. He is in the throes of death struggle under the foot of Kṛṣṇa, who heavily tramples upon him to make an end of his fallen foe. The trees are most probably used as decorations or may represent Vṛndāvana (the forest Vṛndā), where the incident is said to have happened.

¹ *Haricaṁṣa*, Chap. 80; *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, X, Chap. 37; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, V, Chap. 16;

Śaṅkara-śaṅkara-purāṇa, Chan. 190.

Another panel (Fig. 13), next to the above in the south-eastern wall, exhibits two pairs of wrestling figures. One of the figures in each pair is distinguished by *kākapakṣa* hair and torque with medallions and tiger claws, and the group represents Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma wrestling with Kāmsa's wrestlers, headed by Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika. The story, as given in the *Purāṇas*,¹ describes how Kāmsa invited Kṛṣṇa to Mathurā and tried to kill him, first with the help of the elephant, Kuvalayāpīḍa, and subsequently through his famous wrestlers, headed by Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma passed triumphantly through these ordeals and finally killed Kāmsa. Here, in the panel we find one of the wrestlers almost overpowered by one of the brothers, who, seizing him by a leg and shoulder, is on the point of hurling him, face downwards, to the ground. In case of the other pair the fight has just begun, each holding the other by the hands. The pedestal shows five lotus rosettes carved shallow. All the figures are marked by vigour and energy and every one of them indicates a clear understanding of movement and action. We are tempted to identify in the first pair as Kṛṣṇa overpowering Cāṇūra, from a description in the *Śrī-mahābhāgavatam*, which, in brief, gives the main facts of the theme.²

A relief (Fig. 14) fixed on the north-eastern side of the temple exhibits great movement in the torso and the sweeping swing of the head to right, but is a little stiff and crude in the treatment of the legs and disproportionate hands. The figure, distinguished by *kākapakṣa* hair and a necklace of tiger claws,

¹ *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, V, Chap. 20; *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, X, Chaps. 43 and 44.

² *Śrī-mahābhāgavatam* (MS. in Kumar S. K. Ray's collection), Chap. 52 :

Mallakṣetre sthitau Rāma—Kṛṣṇau bhīma-parākramau |

Mallāḥ sambodhayāmāsur = Muṣṭikādyā mahābalāḥ ||

Tatra sampātayāmāsa muṣṭighātena Muṣṭikam |

Rohiṇī-tanayo Rāmo mātābhāla-parākramāḥ ||

Kṛṣṇo 'nyapātayad = vīraṇ Cāṇūraṇ pṛthivī-tale |

Utthāya gaganam bhūyo nipātya munisattama ||

Anyāṁś = ca śalaśo mallān Rāma-Kṛṣṇau kṣaṇārdhataḥ |

Pātayāmāsatuh saṁkhye darśayantau parākramam ||

appears to be no other than Kṛṣṇa in one of his exploits. The flower bud pierced through his left ear as a *kunḍala* is interesting. Kṛṣṇa stands on the head of two grotesque figures, shown in great fright and agony, and by his two hands he breaks off two trees on his two sides. The highly strung eyebrows and the sensitive line of every feature of the face bespeak great movement. On one side is fixed a broken pillar, which shows a hopeless imitation of Gupta motifs, such as pot and foliage at the bottom and *kīrttimukha* in the middle. The relief depicting Kṛṣṇa breaking up two trees at once reminds us of Kṛṣṇa's exploit of uprooting the twin Arjuna trees (*Yamalārjuna*) when he was almost a baby. But the scene, as depicted here, is slightly different from the description of the theme in literature. The story¹ should best be given in gist for comparison. "Unable to check the pranks of the boy Kṛṣṇa Yaśodā once bound him to a heavy mortar with a string (*dāma*), and became engaged in her household works. The child however continued to roam about dragging the mortar behind him and when passing through the twin Arjuna trees the mortar got stuck between them. Kṛṣṇa continued pulling it, as a result of which the two trees were uprooted with their trunks and branches broken. The inhabitants of Vraja, on the sound of the crash, hastened to the spot and found the smiling boy standing between two uprooted trees. The two trees were in reality two Gandharva princes, transformed so by a curse of Nārada for their improper conduct in the past, and Kṛṣṇa through this exploit liberated them from the curse."

But by far the majority of sculptures in the second group are independent images, stiff and conventional, from which, as we have already said, the Pāla images appear to have their origin. Mention should first be made of Indra, the guardian of the eastern quarter and the lord of the heaven represented in a remarkable sculpture on the south-eastern wall of the temple (Fig. 15). The deity has two arms

¹ *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, V, Chap. 6; *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, X, Chap. 9; *Harivaṃśa*, Chap. 63.

and a halo behind his head ; his hair falls in curls on his shoulders. A beaded necklace, a pair each of *kundalas*, armlets and bracelets, stringed girdle with a locket and tassels in front and a jewelled diadem are the ornaments that bedeck his person. The fringe of hair edging the diadem is worth noticing. He has also a belly-band (*udarabandha*). The *dhoti* with fine folds reaches just a little below the knees. The soft modelling and execution are superb. A fold just below the chest, another fold below the navel, the slight protuberance of the knees, shown beneath the *dhoti*, have been finely done. But the almost rectangular face with a fully crescent-shaped mouth and the highly curved and strung eyebrows add a rather comic effect. Again, in point of proportion the figure is rather tall. The vertical creeper-work on two upright jambs on either side is also remarkable for fine and elegant execution.

The objects in his hands cannot be identified. The only cognisances that lead to his identification are his mount, Airāvata, standing behind him, and the horizontal third eye on his forehead. Mr. Dikshit is at a loss to understand the significance of this third eye, "which is generally associated with Siva," in the case of Indra.¹ The *Bṛhatsamhitā* text can however be cited to explain this peculiar feature. It lays down that one of the cognisances of Indra should be his third eye, 'placed horizontally on the forehead.'² The *Viṣṇudharmottaram*³ also

¹ A. S. I., A. R., 1926-27, p. 145.

² *Bṛhatsamhitā*, Chap. 57. 42 :

Śuklaś = catur = viṣṇaḥ dvīpo Mahendrasya vajrapāṇitoam |

Tiryyak-lalāṭa-samsthāṁ tṛtīyaṁ locanaṁ cihanaṁ ||

Also Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary regarding the relevant passage—*tiryyak-kṛtō lalāṭe sthitam |*

Also Kāśyapa, quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala,

Airāvataś = catur = ddantaḥ svetaḡātro mahābhujah |

Tad = ārūḡho Mahendras = tu vajrahasto mahābalaḡ ||

Tiryyag = lalāṭagaṡṡ netraṡṡ tṛtīyaṡṡ tasya kārayet |

³ *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, III, Chap. 50, 3-7 :

Tiryyāḡ = lalāṭagen = ākṡṡṡ kartavyaś = ca vibhūṡṡitaḡ |

.....
Trinetratā ca tasy = okṡṡṡ devadevena Śambhunā ||

lays down this feature as one of the distinct cognisances of Indra. But the attributes in the hands of the present image, whatever they may be, do neither tally with the descriptions of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* and the *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, nor with the known Purāṇic texts, and *vajra* (thunderbolt), the most distinctive symbol of the deity in the majority of the texts and in all later images, is absent.

Of the other *dikpālas* or guardians of the quarters of the Hindu pantheon, we have Agni, the god of fire and the lord of the south-eastern quarter, Yama (?), the god of death and the lord of the southern quarter and Kuvera, the god of wealth and the lord of the northern quarter, represented at Paharpur. Agni was an important deity in the Vedic pantheon, but his images are rather rare. The great diversity of iconographical account of Agni in the different texts¹ indicates that the worship of the god has been fairly popular. As guardian of the south-eastern quarter Agni appears in human form, the iconographic details of which are most conflicting and, not unoften, unusual, such as, two or three faces, three legs, seven arms, etc. Even in the case of a simple form the texts are not entirely unanimous. The image of Agni at Paharpur (Fig. 16) appears on the south-eastern wall and represents a rather flabby person, standing erect with two hands, left bearing a water jar (*Kamaṇḍalu*, *kuṇḍikā*) and right a rosary (*akṣasūtra*). Flames of fire are exhibited in the background and to his right appears a mutilated figure, perhaps his wife Svāhā-devī. Artistically, the figure is not of much quality, but the fine arrangement of the hair is worthy of praise. So far as the attributes and general disposition of the image are concerned, it resembles two descriptions² of the god, one in the *Matsya-purāṇa*, and the other in the *Hayasīrṣapañcarātram*.

¹ *Matsyapurāṇa*, *Agnipurāṇa*, *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, *Hayasīrṣa pañcarātram*, *Prapañcasāratanttram*, *Suprabhedāgama*, *Pūrvakāraṇāgama*, *Śilparatna*, *Rāpamaṇḍana*, *Vratākhaṇḍa*, etc.

² *Matsyapurāṇa*, chap. 261, 9-12 :

Vahnē = tu lakṣaṇaṃ vākṣye sarva-kāma-phala-pradam |

Dīptam suvarṇa-vapuṣaṃ = arḍha-candrāsane sthitam ||

Beard, an almost invariable association of Agni in many of the texts as also in later images, and the third eye, which is specially enjoined by the *Viṣṇudharmamottaram*,¹ are absent.

Yama was also an important deity in the Vedic pantheon, but was later on relegated to an inferior position as the god of death and the lord of the southern quarter. The most distinctive of his cognisances, in point of which the texts are mostly unanimous, are the mount buffalo, and *daṇḍa* (club) as an attribute in one of the hands. *Pāśa* (noose) also appears in the company of *daṇḍa* as an attribute of Yama in some of the texts. The Yama figure at Paharpur (1315 N.S.) is to be recognised by its position in the main southern wall. The god stands upright between two attendants—one male to his left and the other female, with the head missing, to his right. Perhaps they represent Citragupta and Dhumorṇā, Yama's wife, who, according to the *Viṣṇudharmamottaram*,² are to be sculptured along with him ; but other details in that text regarding these attendant figures do not tally. By his two hands, raised as high as the shoulders, the god holds a long noose, passing over his head with the ends hanging downwards. The harsh lines of the face are in strong contrast to the sculptures of the first group. The hair is tied with the upper tuft disposed almost in the fashion of the conventional curls of the Buddha. The ornaments are rather pleasingly executed.

Bālārka-saḍrśaṃ tasya vadanam tasya kārayet |
Yajñopavītinam devaṃ lamba-kūreca-dharaṃ tathā ||
Kaṃṇḍalūṃ vāma-kare dakṣiṇe tv = akṣasūtrakaṃ |
Jvālāvitāna-saṃyuktam = ajavāhanam = ujjvalam ||
Kuṇḍasthaṃ va'pi kurovīta mūrdhni sapta-śikhānvitam |

Also *Hayasīrṣapañcarātram*, I, Chap. 28 :

Jvālā-maṇḍala-madhyaṣṭhaḥ kūrcālaḥ śmaśrulas = tathā |
Yogapattāsan = opeto brahmasūtra-vibhūṣitaḥ ||
...dvivāhur = vai kāryyo Vahnir = vilohitaḥ |
Dakṣiṇe c = ākṣa-sūtran = tu Kuṇḍikām vāmato nyaset ||

¹ *Viṣṇudharmamottaram*, III, Chap. 56 :

Jvālā-mālā-kulaṃ saumyaṃ trinetraṃ śmaśru-dhāriṇam |

² *Viṣṇudharmamottaram*, III, Chap. 51.

I should however note that our identification of the present image as that of Yama rests on its position in the main southern wall. Noosē, though one of his attributes in some texts, is not the most distinctive cognisance of Yama. Wherever it is mentioned it has been mentioned along with the club, but never alone. His most decisive cognisances, the buffalo-mount and the club in one of the hands, are wanting in this sculpture. *Pāśa* (noose) is particularly the weapon of Varuṇa, the lord of the ocean and the guardian of the western region. All the texts are unanimous in mentioning *pāśa* as an attribute of Varuṇa, while the majority of the texts mention it as his only one attribute. For this he has the epithet *Pāśabhṛt*, *Pāśin* (i.e., one bearing *pāśa* or the noose), etc. Had it not been for its position, the present image should have been more conclusively identified as that of Varuṇa. At present we are not in a position to say whether the image, as it now is, occupies its original niche. But in view of the traces of subsequent tamperings, the idea is not improbable that the image is really that of Varuṇa and was meant for the western wall, but was later on put in its present position, either through mistake or through an ignorance of its real interpretation.

A detached image at Paharpur (N.S. 1099), stylistically belonging to this group and showing a pot-bellied figure seated on a stool, below which appear *śankha* (conch), *padma* (lotus), etc., and holding a receptacle (in the fashion of a flask) in the left hand and the right in *varada* (granting boon), represents Kuvera, the god of wealth and the lord of the northern quarter. The texts are not unanimous as regards the attributes of the god, but pot-belly (*lambodara*, *mahodara*), a man as his mount and a receptacle of wealth are his main cognisances. The manly mount, is however absent in the present sculpture. But the pot-bellied figure with a receptacle in hand indicates that the god of wealth is meant here. The present image has a special interest in the fact that two fangs appear on both sides of the mouth, not to be found in any other known image of the god. This peculiarity again can be

explained with reference to the *Viṣṇudharmottaram*,¹ which, among other details lacking in the present sculpture, enjoins two fangs within the mouth of Kuvera. *Saṅkha* and *padma* below the stool represent two of the eight *nidhis* (treasures), which are to have their own forms, as prescribed in the above text.²

A high relief (Fig. 17) on the western wall represents a fat figure, standing erect on a plain *triratha* pedestal with a kneeling devotee with folded hands to his right. He has two hands ; in the left, raised to shoulders, he holds a manuscript (*pustaka*) and the right, disposed in *varada*, exhibits a rosary (*akṣamālā*). He wears a scarf or a skin, tied to the waist by a string girdle, and an *uttarīya* is seen covering a part of the body. No ornaments bedeck his person and the hair is carefully arranged upward with a knot in the middle. Two trees, perhaps plantain trees, appear on two sides in the background and an arch with the facade decorated with lotus rosettes is seen above his head. In spite of the heavy features, the dreamy outlook of the eyes, a smiling beatitude of the whole face and the elegant pose of the kneeling worshipper are worth noticing. The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee³ would think the image to be a representation of the god Brahmā. Mr. Dikshit too, though he has omitted to mention it in his reports, tentatively described the image as that of Brahmā in an Indian Museum lecture. It seems that the manuscript and the rosary as attributes were responsible for such description. But the absence of additional faces and hands of Brahmā prevents us from agreeing to such an identification. The *Viṣṇudharmottaram* gives us a prescription for the making of *grahas* (planets) and there it is laid down that Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of the gods, is to have two hands, holding a manuscript and a rosary, and a complexion like that of molten gold.⁴ The image under notice

¹ *Op. cit.*, Chap. 53. *Dve ca daṁṣṭre mukhe tasya*.....

² *Ibid.* *Saṅkha-padma-nidhī kāryyā svarūpa-nidhi-saṁsthitau* |

³ *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1925-26, 69, p. 111.

⁴ *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, III, Chap. 69 :

Tapta-jāmbunadaḥ kāryo dvibhujaś=ca Bṛhaspatiḥ |

Pustakaṁ c=ākṣamālā=ca karayos=tasya kārayet ||

exactly corresponds to the above description and, so far as I am aware, this is perhaps the earliest representation of Br̥haspati in art.

Next to it, and forming a corner with it, there appears another sculpture (860 N.S.), which shows a male figure standing quite erect between two plantain trees, and bearing a water pot in the left hand, which hangs down, and a rosary in the right, that is raised up, with a *jaṭā-mukuta*, most artistically arranged, and the person strictly bare of any ornaments. What is specially interesting is that a prominent crescent-mark appears over the tiara. It is a rather fine sculpture and though the face is a little abraded, the beautiful smile and the smooth modelling and linearism of the whole figure are remarkable. The only god wearing a crescent (*ardha-candra*, *indukalā*) on the head that we know of is the god Śiva, and on this data only the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee¹ described it as 'Śiva conceived as Somanātha, the lord of the moon.' Mr. Dikshit too reiterates the same view when in his Indian Museum lecture, he described the image as that of Śiva-*Candraśekhara*. But any association of the present image with Śiva is out of the question, on account of the absence of his other invariable cognisances, such as the *ūrddhvaliṅga* and the vertical third eye. The crescent mark is an important feature and cannot be neglected. Under the circumstances the only other alternative is to identify the image either as Candra (the moon-god, and the second in the list of the nine planets) or as Soma, the third of the eight Vasus. The moon-god, Candra, has a rather fair number of *dhyānas*, but his actual image is but rarely met with. The simplest description of the moon-god appears in the *Agnipurāṇa*,² where it is said that Candra should have a water-pot and a rosary as his attributes. The present image bears

¹ A.S.I., A.R., 1925-26, p. 111.

² *Op. cit.*, Chap. 51 :

Kuṇḍikā-jāyamālā=*indu*.

exactly these attributes, which, combined with the crescent-mark over the head, make its identification as Candra, the moon-god, quite certain.

In this group of sculptures two images of Śiva appear. One (1316 N.S.), a rather slender type, appears on the southern wall. The god stands with a slight flexion and has two hands, left with a long trident (*triśūla*) and the right in *varada* pose. A snake (*nāga, sarpa*) appears over his right shoulder, a prominent *ūrddhvaliṅga* is shown and the third eye on the forehead is just like an oval patch. The *jaṭā-mukuta* is peculiar in having the upper tuft gathered horizontally, a feature common at Paharpur, which has a parallel in the panel depicting Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa's visit to the hermitage of Śavarī, found during the excavations at the Gupta temple at Deogarh.¹ But for the sacred thread of two courses of beads, chain girdle, a pair of bracelets and armlets and a broad necklace, the whole body appears to be naked. The execution and modelling are deteriorated to some extent. Eyes and mouth are distorted. When we compare the present image with the other Śiva figure (1312 N.S.), already described, we can see how art has deteriorated in the second group. In spite of the flexion it is apparent that life has departed from this characteristic pose of the early Gupta sculptures. A verse in the *Hayaśīrṣapañcarātram*² describes Hara, with two hands, left holding trident and right disposed in *Varada*, and the image under notice, exactly corresponding to this description, appears to represent the 'Hara' variety of Śiva. The other image of Śiva in this group (848 N.S.) represents the god standing with a slight bend on a plain pedestal with the left hand, now broken, holding a trident (?) with its upper end broken and the right, stretched in *varada*, bearing a rosary. The god wears a sacred thread, a plain girdle fastening the

¹ A.S.I., A.R., 1917-18, p. 6, pl. I, a.

² *Hayaśīrṣapañcarātram* (MS. in Kumar S. K. Ray's collection). I, Chap. 29 :

Triśūla-dhṛk tathā vāme varado dakṣiṇena tu |

Dvibhujo'yam Haraḥ sāksāt sarva-kāma-phala-pradāḥ ||

tiger skin to the waist, the armlets, bracelets, necklace and ear-tops. The *jaṭā* is tied upwards in a knot and the figure exhibits *ūrdhvalinga*, a snake over the right shoulder and the vertical third eye on forehead. The *vāhana*, the bull, is carved to proper left, but in a wrong perspective, with the front legs and head upwards. In spite of this ludicrous blunder, it supplies us with an additional, and one of the most important, point in the iconography of Śiva.

Mention should next be made of a sculpture on the north-western wall (859 N.S.), showing a fat and potbellied figure standing with a slight *bhanga* (bend), between two plantain shoots on either side. He has two hands, in the left of which, hanging downwards, he holds a water jar and in the right, raised to shoulder, a rosary. A heavy *dhoti* hangs down to the ankles, fastened by a strap and he wears a sacred thread. But for these, he has no ornaments. The *jaṭā* is tied upwards with heavy curls falling at the back. The face, though mutilated, wears a calm and serene look. A dwarf sits to proper left, perhaps with folded hands. Another figure (845 N.S.) in the same wall, but of cruder workmanship and apparently belonging to the third group of sculptures, also exhibits similar attributes, e.g., water jar in the left hand and rosary in the right, lack of ornaments and *jaṭā-mukuta*. We should note that Mr. Dikshit mentioned neither of these images in his reports. The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee¹ described the former as "a corpulent ascetic," but does not attempt to ascertain its real identity. The iconographic identity of these sculptures is a bit difficult to ascertain. Water jar and rosary are common with so many deities. On the analogy of these attributes and matted hair one may be tempted to identify these figures as the Mahādeva aspect of Śiva-Mahādeva in his all-pervading form (cf. 1312 N.S.). But the absence of the *ūrdhvalinga* and the vertical *trinetra*, which we invariably notice in every other Śiva figure at Paharpur, would

preclude such an idea. To explain this form we have again to turn to the *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, our invaluable guide in the iconography of Paharpur sculptures, where we find a description of the Manus, both past and future. The images under review closely conform to the description of future Manu, which is prescribed to be represented as being divested of all ornaments, as having a matted tiara and as bearing a rosary and a water jar in the two hands,¹ and there can be no doubt that the above two figures should actually represent the future Manu of the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* text.

Next we come to another sculpture (Fig. 18.) just by the side of the figure of Manu and forming a corner with it. It shows a male figure, standing on a plain pedestal, with a slight bend to right, left hand clenched to hip and right holding a flower blossom (*utpala?*). The *dhoti* reaches just above the knees and a scarf passes diagonally across the hips and is knotted to his left. A belly-band can also be seen clasped in front. The latter two features appear to be reminiscent of the first group of sculptures at Paharpur. The hair, tied up, is beautifully shown and a circular *tilaka* mark appears in the centre of the forehead. The figure shows *ūrdhvaliṅga*,² and on this data the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee³ described it as Śiva. Mr. Banerjee appears to be correct though the other cognisance, the third eye, unless it be indicated by the circular *tilaka* mark on forehead, is absent. The snake armlet (*sarpāṅgada*), which we find in other sculptures of Śiva, in the present

¹ *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, III, Chap. 70 :

Varttamāno Manuḥ kṛyyo rāja-lakṣaṇa-saṅgyutaḥ |
Bhaviṣyas = tu tathā kṛyyaḥ sarv = ābharāṇa-varjjitaḥ |
Jaṭā-dhara'kṣamālī ca kamaṇḍalu-dharas = tathā ||

² The *ūrdhvaliṅga* as seen in the photograph may appear to be nothing but a simulation, a strange combination of the vertical lines of the ends of the belly-band and the horizontal waist-line being responsible for such an outline. A comparison with the original is necessary for clearing up the point.

³ *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1925-26, p. 111.

specimen is also a corroborative evidence. Lily (*utpala*) in the right hand too does not militate against this assumption, as according to the *dhyānas* the god Śiva can have *utpala* in one or other of his forms. The figure is bedecked with a pair each of armlets, bracelets and ear-tops and a necklace. The elegant pose and a rather smooth and well executed modelling and features make it a closer approach to the first group than to the second. The edges of the black slab have been so incised as to form a rectangle up to the shoulders of the figure and a halo around the head.

There are two images of Gaṇeśa, at Paharpur, of which one distinctly belongs to the third group. Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati, the elephant-headed deity, is the god of luck, the giver of success (*siddhidātā*), the remover of obstacles (*vighnāntaka*), the patron of merchants, of writers (for he is the scribe of the gods) and in fact of everyone, who should invoke him before any enterprise or before appealing to any other divine being. In mythology he is the eldest son of Śiva and legends about the loss of his human head and its substitution with one of elephant are narrated in the *Purāṇas*; but need not be mentioned here. He is a fairly popular deity in Indian art and there are rather prolific texts regarding his images, and all of them are agreed in giving him an elephant-head, a pot-belly, a dwarfish form and the rat as the mount, all of which form his most distinctive cognisances. But they are rarely unanimous as regards his attributes, and trident, rosary, pot full of sweetmeats, tusk, radish, lotus, axe, etc., appear among his attributes.² The four-handed variety of Gaṇeśa is generally termed as Vināyaka, as we may infer from the *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, the *Matsyapurāṇa* and the *Agnipurāṇa*. The earlier specimen of Gaṇeśa at Paharpur (Fig. 19)

¹ In literature too Śiva is enjoined to have snake as ornaments.....Cf. *Matsyapurāṇa* : *bhujāṅg* = *ābharāṇas* = *tathā* ; *bhujāṅga-hara-valayam* ; etc. Hemādri, *Vrata-Khaṇḍa* : *Kapāla-mālinam raudram sarvataḥ sarpabhūṣaṇam* !

² *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, III, Chap. 71; *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, Chap. 57; *Matsya-purāṇa*, Chap. 260; *Amīmurāṇa*. Chap. 50; etc.

appears on the south-eastern wall and shows the pot-bellied god, seated, with four hands,—upper right bearing a radish (*mūlaka-kanda*), lower right a rosary (*akṣamālā*), upper left a trident (*śūlaka*) and lower left perhaps a snake. A rat is incised in shallow lines on the pedestal and, among other ornaments the god wears a diadem on his temple. The other specimen (1279 N.S.) appears in the north-eastern wall. The god sits on a pedestal, which shows the rat below, with the left leg lying flat on it and the right tucked up and kept in position by a strap passing round the abdomen and the leg. Of the four hands the lower left rests on the knee, the upper left holds a radish, upper right perhaps a lotus (*utpala*) and lower right a pot of sweetmeats which the god is enjoying through his proboscis. Matted hair shown on elephant's head is a peculiarity, which we cannot miss, and its upper tuft is disposed horizontally. We should note that in all the later images that we know of Gaṇeśa, the *jaṭā-mukūṭa* is the only coiffure that the god bears.

CHAPTER VII

PAHARPUR SCULPTURE (CONTD.)

Third Group

Coming to the third group of sculptures at Paharpur we notice that the narrative reliefs predominate in a great degree over the independent images that form the majority in the second group. We have already noted that this group represents not a refined and finished art like that of the first two, but an indigenous art, an art of the people, naive and crude, yet sincere and vigorous. It is regrettable that the sculptures are not so well preserved as the other two and many of them are difficult of interpretation because of the absence of details, which are missing.

On the south-eastern wall there appears a relief (1323 N.S.) in which a man is seen carrying an infant in his arms. The figure is extremely abraded and though other details are lacking it appears that we have here the representation of Vasudeva carrying Kṛṣṇa, just after his birth in the prison of Kāṁsa, to Gokula, to save the new-born babe from the clutches of his tyrant uncle.¹

A better preserved sculpture (1324 N.S.) just by its side and forming an angle with it, shows us a plump boy in three-quarter profile, with his left hand on waist and right holding something, on which he seems to bestow an enraptured look. He wears a pair of shorts and among ornaments, particularly juvenile, may be mentioned a pair of circular rings at the ankles, a pair of bangles, a waistband of rectangular medallions and a necklace of tiger claws. The hair is arranged in heavy curls. We think we have here a representation of the boy Kṛṣṇa heartily

¹ Cf. *Agnipurāṇam*, Chap. 12 :

Vasudevaḥ Kāṁsa-bhayaṁ = Yaśodā-śayane'ṇayat |

For details, *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, X, Chap. 3; *Harivaṁśa*, Chap. 59; *Vaiṣṇupurāṇa*, V,

enjoying, alone and away from the sight of others, a lump of butter, the spoil of an adventurous theft (cf. his epithet of butter-thief).

An extremely weathered panel (1327 N.S.) in the south-western wall exhibits three boys with curly hair and shorts, two on two sides and the third in the centre. The third boy appears to be enjoying a swing supported by his two companions. Though faces are almost worn out, the lively enjoyment and fun are stamped in every face, and perhaps we have here a representation of one of the various sports of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma with the cowherd boys of their train.¹

But if the connection of Kṛṣṇa with the above three panels are more or less problematic we stand on surer ground when we come to another panel (1290 N.S.) in the south-eastern wall. Though other details are lacking we have here an unmistakable representation of Kṛṣṇa holding up the mount Gobardhana, to shelter the denizens of Gokula from the torrential rains sent down by Indra. The story goes that once on the advice of Kṛṣṇa the cowherds of Gokula gave up their annual feast and worship to Indra. Indra flew into a rage and sent down torrential rains, but Kṛṣṇa, who was too original for Indra, pulled up mount Govardhana with utmost ease (*līlayā*) and held it aloft like an umbrella. Being assured of its safety the cowherds with all their belongings took shelter under it, and the heavy downpour, which continued for seven days, was in vain. Baffled in his purpose, Indra stopped the rains and worshipped Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa too in his turn, set back the mountain in its place.² In this sculpture we find Kṛṣṇa,

¹ Cf. *Agnipurāṇam*, Chap. 12 :

Rāma-Kṛṣṇau ceratus = tau gobhir = gopālakaiḥ saha |

² *Agnipurāṇa*, Chap. 12 :

Sakrotsavam parityajya kārīto getra-yajñakāḥ |

Parvataṃ dhārayitvā ca Sakrād = vr̥ṣṭir = nivāritāḥ ||

Namaskṛto Mahendreṇa Govindo 'tḥ = ārjjuno 'rpitāḥ |

Indrotsavas = tu tuṣṭeṇa bhūyaḥ Kṛṣṇeṇa kārītaḥ ||

For details, *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, X, Chap. 25; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, V, Chap. 11,

with four hands, holding up the mountain with the two upper. Of the other two, one passes round the body of a female figure and the remaining hand tries to push away, perhaps in fun, a male figure with a staff, who too appears to be greatly enjoying this pastime. The front of the mountain is artistically carved in the shape of the open upper jaw of a *makara*. In spite of the crudeness of execution the figures show movement and expression. Another point of special note is that the relief does not fit in with the niche.

Another panel (844 N. S.) on the north-eastern side also appears to have some association with the early life of Kṛṣṇa in connection with the incident of *Pralamba-vadha* or the killing of the demon Pralamba by Balarāma. A detailed description of the theme may be found in the *Harivaṁśa*,¹ the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*² and the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*.³ The story, in short, runs thus :

“ After the killing of Dhenuka the two brothers repaired to Bhāṇḍīravana and there they began regaling themselves, in the company of other cowherd boys, with various sports, songs, wrestles, exercises, etc. While they were thus engaged there came Pralamba, the foremost of the Asuras, with a view to kill them. Assuming the form of a cowherd boy he joined the group in sports. Meanwhile Kṛṣṇa introduced a new pastime of leaping in pairs and every one engaged in it. It was also arranged that the vanquished one would carry the victor on his shoulders. And thus, the defeated Kṛṣṇa carried Śrīdāma, Bhadrāsena Bṛṣabha, Pralamba Balarāma, and so on. Every pair returned to the Bhandiraka tree, but Pralamba, carrying Balarāma, proceeded quickly to the opposite direction like a cloud with the moon. Being unable to carry his weight the demon began to increase his size and displayed his own huge body, effulgent like a mountain of burnt collyrium, eyes like the wheels of a car, a head adorned with a sun-like coronet and resembling Death

¹ Chap. 64.

² V, Chap. 9.

³ X, Chap. 18.

himself. Balarāma was a little frightened and asked Kṛṣṇa as to what should be done. Kṛṣṇa asked him to remember his own divine aspect, his divine strength and his divine attributes and advised him to strike forcibly with the fist, as firm as thunderbolt, the head of the *dānava*. Thus inspired Balarāma, with his well formed fist, resembling a thunderbolt, struck the wicked Pralamba on the head. The demon, killed outright, touched ground and lay like a mass of cloud scattered in the sky." In the panel at Paharpur we find a group of three figures, of which the big one in the centre carries a plump dwarf figure over his shoulders. This pair, in all probability, represents Pralamba carrying away Balarāma,¹ and the boyish figure with a flute, perhaps Kṛṣṇa. The face of Pralamba exhibits immense satisfaction, as he thinks himself on the point of attaining his object. Balarāma too, as yet unaware of the wicked designs of the Asura, appears to be enjoying the fun of being carried over.

There are some other panels again which can be recognised as having connection with several themes in the Hindu epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*. Mention should first be made of a panel in the western wall (1334 N.S.) showing two archers, one on the shoulders of a human figure to proper right and the other on a chariot to proper left, fighting with each other. Both the figures are distinguished by halos behind their heads. It appears probable that the person on the shoulders of another figure may represent Kṛṣṇa, while that on the chariot, Arjuna, and the panel at once reminds us of the theme of *Subhadrā-harṇa* (abduction of Subhadrā, sister of Kṛṣṇa, by Arjuna) in the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. The figures are badly weathered, but from so much as is preserved of the face, the persons do not at all seem to be in belligerent moods, rather enjoying a mock or friendly fight. This is not at all surprising as in the story we find

¹ Cf. *Viṣṇu purāṇa*, V, Chap. 9 :

Saṅkarṣaṇam tu skandhana śighram = utkṣēpya dānavah |
Na tasthau prajāgām = aiva sa-candra iva vāridaḥ ||

Kṛṣṇa to be a conniving party to the intrigue of the abduction of his sister, and he is only putting up a show of fight for his prestige as well as for the sake of his brother, Balarāma, who would not quietly brook such an insult to his family. It appears also probable that the panel represents the fight between Indrajit and Lakṣmaṇa, who is narrated sometimes as fighting perched on the shoulders of Hanumat.

Another panel (Fig. 20) in the western wall depicts perhaps the fight between Bālī and Sugrīva, probably, as Mr. Dikshit suggests, for the possession of Tārā, who is here seen in the arms of Bālī. The hero, with the garland, hurling a missile is no doubt Sugrīva, while the falling figure, perhaps Aṅgada, son of Bālī, who came to help his father in the fight.

Another relief (Fig. 21) in the north-eastern wall with the figure of a monkey carrying loads of stone on his two uplifted hands and on the head, is no doubt connected with the construction of the bridge across the sea for Rāma and his monkey troops to cross over to Laṅkā. One other panel (862 N. S.) on the north-western side may again be connected with some minor theme of the *Rāmāyana* war. In it may be seen two figures, one monkey-faced to proper left and the other with beard and grinning teeth (*Rākṣasa* ?) to proper right, fighting with each other with the help of hands and clubs. The monkey is seen wringing the neck of the *Rākṣasa*, who, in great agony, tries his utmost to free himself from the deadly grasp of his antagonist. Another dwarf figure is seen lying prostrate beneath the feet of the monkey. The overpowering strength of the monkey and the immense agony of the *Rākṣasa* have been masterfully expressed in this crude sculpture, which is worthy of unstinted praise.

A *Rākṣasa*, with curls rising upward and with three visible heads, appears again in a relief (865 N. S.) in the north-western wall in the act of offering something in a sacrificial fire on an altar to his right. In his left hand there is a long staff. Beneath the altar a female figure may be seen squatting and offering a pot,

full of offerings, to the Rākṣasa. A jar can again be seen at the bottom to the extreme left. Over the fire is to be seen a human figure in the attitude of flying or of coming out of the fire. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we come by a Rākṣasa, Trisīrā (one with three heads) by name. Can the panel be connected in any way with him?

Several elegant dancing poses can again be recognised among this group of sculptures at Paharpur. An extremely weathered relief (1282 N. S.) in the north-eastern wall shows a dancing female figure, cross-legged and in a pleasant triple flexion. The posture reminds us of the early drayad figures, as at Sanchi. Her left hand goes up while the right is raised before the face. These fine poses of the hands give balance and rhythm to the graceful attitude of the whole figure, balanced further by the fluttering ends of the garment on either side. Another almost similar figure (Fig. 22) in the same wall, but with hands shown as if beating cymbals to keep time in tune with the dance, is also a praiseworthy piece of sculpture, so far as movement and expression are concerned. The hair coiled up and forming a mass behind the head is also worth noticing. A violent pose, perhaps a momentary pause in the whirl of the dance, may be seen in a relief (Fig. 23) on the south-eastern wall. Here we find the dancer with forcefully bent knees, right arm with palm outward swinging across the body, left shoulder and arm raised, with the forearm (palm inwards) 'loosely pending from the bent upper arm,' and the head violently bent towards his right. The fluttering ends of the garment, the raised folds of the *dhoti*, the highly strung eyebrows, the coiled up hair against the left shoulder and the peculiar pose all accentuate the vigour of the movement. "The entire composition," says Dr. Kramrisch,¹ "and the entire figure are borne by the dance." Another female figure, standing cross-legged in *tribhaṅga* and two hands raised up above the head holding some rectangular

¹ *Indian Sculpture*, p. 188, Fig. 80.

object, may again represent some particular pose of the *Nṛtya-śāstra*. But the pose cannot be said to be so elegant as in the cases of the other three.

Several figures of *Dvārapālas* (doorkeepers) are also worth mentioning. They stand with their weight resting on their staffs. The figures wear curly wigs on their heads. A rather fine example may be noticed in a relief on the north-eastern wall (1281 N. S.), where we find a person standing on his right leg, with the left tucked up and resting on the right knee. His whole weight rests on his club which he clutches at the top with bent hands; over which, with a slight bend of his body, he rests his chin. The pose is rather a common practice with a doorkeeper, when in the midst of his tiring watch, he snatches a little rest, or even a nap, in such a position. A peculiar ornament, showing an object like a dog's tooth, fastened to the ankle by a string is also worthy of notice. A second *dvārapāla* figure in the southern wall (1310 N. S.) has his staff broken away in the lower portion. The figure is distinguished by a pair of boots covering his feet. Both these figures are shown in three-quarter profile. A full front view may be seen in another sculpture on the south-eastern wall (1299 N. S.), where we find an extremely merry figure standing, with his hands on the top of the club, shown to his right.

There are also several amatory pairs represented in this group. They however lack the restraint and elegance of the *Rādha-Kṛṣṇa* (?) group. Nor are the figures distinguished by halos, and it appears probable that these reliefs represent mere amatory scenes. One of these reliefs (1284 N. S.) shows us a male figure, with an arrowcase at his back, standing to proper right, with his right hand round the neck of the female figure standing to his right, and left engaged in pressing her breast. The female figure in *tribhaṅga* appears to be almost hanging by her left hand passed round the shoulders of her consort. The right hand is broken away at the forearm. Of the ornaments, the broad knob pierced through the left ear of the female figure needs mention

and should be compared to the almost similar tops, still used by the rustic maidens in North Bengal. A dwarf figure, perhaps female, appear to the proper left of the panel with a flywhisk in right hand. The expression of the faces is masterful. Smilingly, yet bashfully, the female steals an affectionate look at her lord, who also feels quite happy in the company of his love. In view of the arrowcase at the back of the male figure may not the pair represent Kāma and his wife Rati? Another such sculpture (1286 N. S.) shows the pair in a still closer and intimate pose, almost on the point of exchanging kisses, while another (Fig. 24) shows a couple in close embrace feeding each other. The male figure is actually seen feeding the female, and it is probable that the female takes food from a plate, proffered by an attendant to her right, to feed the male in her turn.

Besides, there are other sculptures representing a variety of subjects, some popular stories, incidents from everyday life, etc., in this group at Paharpur. The figures being extremely worn out, it is difficult to ascertain their correct themes. Yet a naturalistic expression and a pleasing sense of movement and action are apparent in every piece. There are several conversational pairs, of which one (1331 N. S.) perhaps depicts two ascetics, distinguished by *jaṭā-mukuta*s (one of them is bearded and emaciated), absorbed in the most abstruse metaphysical discussion. In another panel (1281 N. S.) we find an ascetic (*jaṭā-mukuta*) perhaps explaining something to a layman who can be recognised by his curly wigs. In another (1292 N. S.) a pair of Kinnaras appears to be enjoying a pleasant chat, while in the fourth (1305 N. S.) we find a person assuring and comforting a fellow, who stands with bent knees and clasped hands. The fifth (851 N. S.) shows us a pair, of which the person to proper left, with club or sword and shield, appears to be threatening the other person, who, however, seems to pay but little heed to the threats. An expression of immense fright at the sight of something, which makes him recoil, has been faithfully portrayed in the face and pose of a figure (1326 N. S.) in the south-eastern

wall. Fun and enjoyment again are stamped on the face of a boyish figure (850 N. S.). A Vidyādhara, with boots, and a garland in his hands appears in a panel (1289 N. S.) in an attitude of flight. Another relief (1332 N. S.) on the south-west side, portraying a woman standing with crossed legs and grasping the branches of a tree above, with a child to her right with its left elbow on her hip, and further out a man with his right hand touching the lips, and having some compositional affinity with the scene of the nativity of the Buddha in the Lumbini garden, still awaits a definite interpretation.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Here we finish our account of the Paharpur sculptures and with it of the early sculpture of Bengal. Early sculpture was not non-existent in Bengal and from what we know of the early specimens we find that up till the sixth century A.D. Bengal was following the traditions of the great art centres of those early periods, *e. g.*, the Mathurā school in the Kuṣāṇa period and the Gupta school of Sarnath in its eastern version, the zone of which can now be extended as far east as Assam, in the Gupta period. These styles or traditions have a common Indian character, at least so far as the hieratic art of the country is concerned. From what we have described as the indigenous art of about eighth century A.D. at Paharpur it appears possible, nay apparent, that a popular Bengali idiom, naive and crude, yet vigorous and full of forceful action and masterful expression, was existent in the earlier period too, specimens of which may be expected on a proper exploration of the older sites. The subsequent history, however, it is regrettable to note, of this purely Bengali element has not been known till many centuries later. It is this indigenous art, which, coming into contact with the Gupta art in its eastern version, gave rise to the Pāla school of art. The purely Bengali idiom, we have already said, was of deeper artistic significance and it should be our endeavour to trace its history in its earlier and later manifestations.

The Paharpur sculpture in all its three groups cannot be said to have any cult significance, but appear merely as decorative embellishments of the basement wall of the main temple, just as the terra-cotta dados are of the upper terrace walls. The majority of the sculptures are narrative in character, and the

themes, whether from the life of Kṛṣṇa or from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, have been given plastic shape in their main incidents only, the minor details being omitted. With reference to the independent images we should note at the outset that extremely complicated iconographic types of the later period are not represented. Iconographic types too have not yet been stereotyped and standardised, as in the following period. Images do not strictly conform to the usually known texts, perhaps because the sculptures being more or less decorative elements, the artists did not lay much stress on this aspect. Mr. Dikshit may also be right in saying "It is not impossible that the *sādhana*s or directions according to which the images at Paharpur were made, were different from those in use in later times."¹ That the Paharpur artists did use a different set of texts is apparent from the fact that some of the most distinctive cognisances of particular deities, invariably found in later images, are conspicuous by their absence at Paharpur. In striking contrast there appear several particular features, conspicuously absent in the sculptures of the later period, as also in the *Purāṇas* and the *Tantras*, which form the main textual basis of these later sculptures. These peculiarities have wonderful confirmation in the *Bṛhatsamhitā* and the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* texts, but sometimes these two, by themselves, fail to properly equate an image in its every detail. Images, though not many, represent variety. Viṣṇu and Sūrya, so prolific in the subsequent period, are entirely absent. Though Śiva appears, he appears in his severely ascetic form and no figure of Umā-Maheśvara, a favourite motif in the succeeding period, is known. The cult of the Śakti is also absent. Instead of Viṣṇu we have the Kṛṣṇaite scenes. Yamunā and Balarāma appear possibly in that connection. Several *dikpālas* appear in their appropriate positions, and of quite rare and unique specimens, we may mention those that we have identified as Bṛhaspati, Candra and future Manu.

¹ A. S. I., A. R., 1926-27, p. 146.

Specimens of early sculpture (up to the sixth century), found in Bengal, are however relatively few and the question hence arises whether they were imported from reputed centres abroad or were carved within her boundaries. The first suggestion derives some support from finds of sculptures in the red sandstone of Mathurā distributed over a wide area. Scholars are of opinion that these sculptures had been imported to the respective places from Mathurā, which had been a great art centre—General Cunningham calls it a ‘great manufactory’—in the Kuṣāṇa-period. It would thus seem that the practice of importing images from abroad was not uncommon and hence the first suggestion that the few early sculptures from Bengal had been imported from abroad may appear to be a probability.

The *Silpa* texts lay down elaborate prescriptions for the making of an image of a deity and its proper installation in a temple. In many such texts we find detailed directions¹ for the selection of stone, which has to be brought to the site of the temple, where a special hut has to be erected for the manufacture of the image. Again, the actual manufacture of the image to be installed, has to pass through various rituals from start to finish. In view of these, the custom of importing images from abroad, even if known, does not appear to be looked upon with much favour and apparently was not generally resorted to. Rather, the common practice seems to have been the importation of stone for the manufacture of the image, locally at the respective sites. The wide distribution of sculptures in the red sandstone of Mathurā need not necessarily suggest that finished images were exported from Mathurā to these places. It is more probable that the red sandstone of the Mathurā sculptures, which was a convenient and favourite medium, was freely and widely supplied. In the Gupta period the favourite medium was the Chunar sandstone, the most prolific specimens of which are to be found at Sarnath. Images in that material have also been

¹ Cf. *Hayasīrṣapañcarātram*, *Ādikāṇḍa*, Chaps. 15, 16, 17 and 18.

found distributed over a large area and it should not therefore mean that every image in that medium originated from Sarnath, whence it had been brought to the particular place, where it was found. The common custom appears to be to bring the material and not the finished product. Up till the sixth century India retains her oneness in art style and it is obvious that local ateliers, versed in the predominant style of the period, existed throughout the country. Occasionally, however, the services of reputed artists from abroad, especially from the famous art centres, were requisitioned. The instances of "Sivamitra, a sculptor of Mathurā," who carved a seated figure of Bodhisattva of the Kuṣāṇa period found at Śrāvastī, and of "Dinna of Mathurā," the sculptor of the famous *parinirvāṇa* statue of the fifth century A.D. at Kasia, should better be interpreted to mean that the artists themselves were imported from Mathurā to the respective sites, rather than the finished images.

Now, what about the few early sculptures from Bengal? The sculptures with probable Kuṣāṇa affinities were not executed in the red sandstone of Mathurā and hence the suggestion of Mathurā origin and workmanship cannot be entertained. Such possibly is also the case with the Gupta sculptures, where, of the two stone sculptures, only one is in Chunar sandstone, the other being executed in a kind of bluish basalt. Moreover, these sculptures represent an eastern Indian version of the Gupta style of Sarnath, and nothing is known of its most prolific centre or place of origin. The comparative scantiness of early Bengal sculpture is due largely to the lack of proper scientific exploration in the province and the question whether these sculptures were the works of artists imported from abroad, or of the local artists, conversant with the predominant style and tradition of the period, must remain open until proper explorations lead to the discoveries of adequate materials for a closer study of the subject. We should however note, as we have done in the introduction, that other evidences, such as the evidence of inscriptions, etc., bear testimonies to conditions favourable for the development of art in

Bengal. Her history was not an isolated episode from the rest of India. The greater portion of the province formed an integral part of the Gupta empire, and there is no reason why local genius would not cultivate art and become imbued with the main characteristics of the Gupta style.

We have already remarked that a popular Bengali idiom in art, of which we have a late evidence in a group of Paharpur sculptures, was evidently existent in the earlier period too. But it could not assert itself against the hieratic art of the Guptas. On the decline of the Guptas the Bengalis began to assert themselves more and more in the political sphere and about the second half of the sixth century A.D. we find a line of independent rulers in Bengal, assuming Imperial titles. About this time the Bengalis appear to have emerged as an important political power and their attempts to extend their influence beyond the frontiers brought them into conflict with other contemporary powers of Northern India. In the seventh century *Gauḍādhipa* Śaśaṅka was able to maintain for some time a supreme position in Northern India and after this, through various conflicts, the Bengalis came to the forefront of Northern Indian politics, with the election of the Pālas to sovereignty, in the eighth century A.D. Simultaneously with this political advancement such an assertion of local genius is apparent in the cultural sphere too and we find that about the seventh century, as is obvious in the second group of Paharpur sculptures, the popular indigenous idiom in art, which appear to have but little scope against the Gupta style in the fifth and even in the sixth, has already transformed the Gupta style and tradition in such a way as to make way for the subsequent Pāla art, which had a remarkable history in the mediaeval art of India. The seventh and the eighth centuries may be looked upon, politically as well as culturally, as the critical moment when the Bengali genius began to exert more and more until it evolved, along with a political empire, a provincial school of art in Bengal.



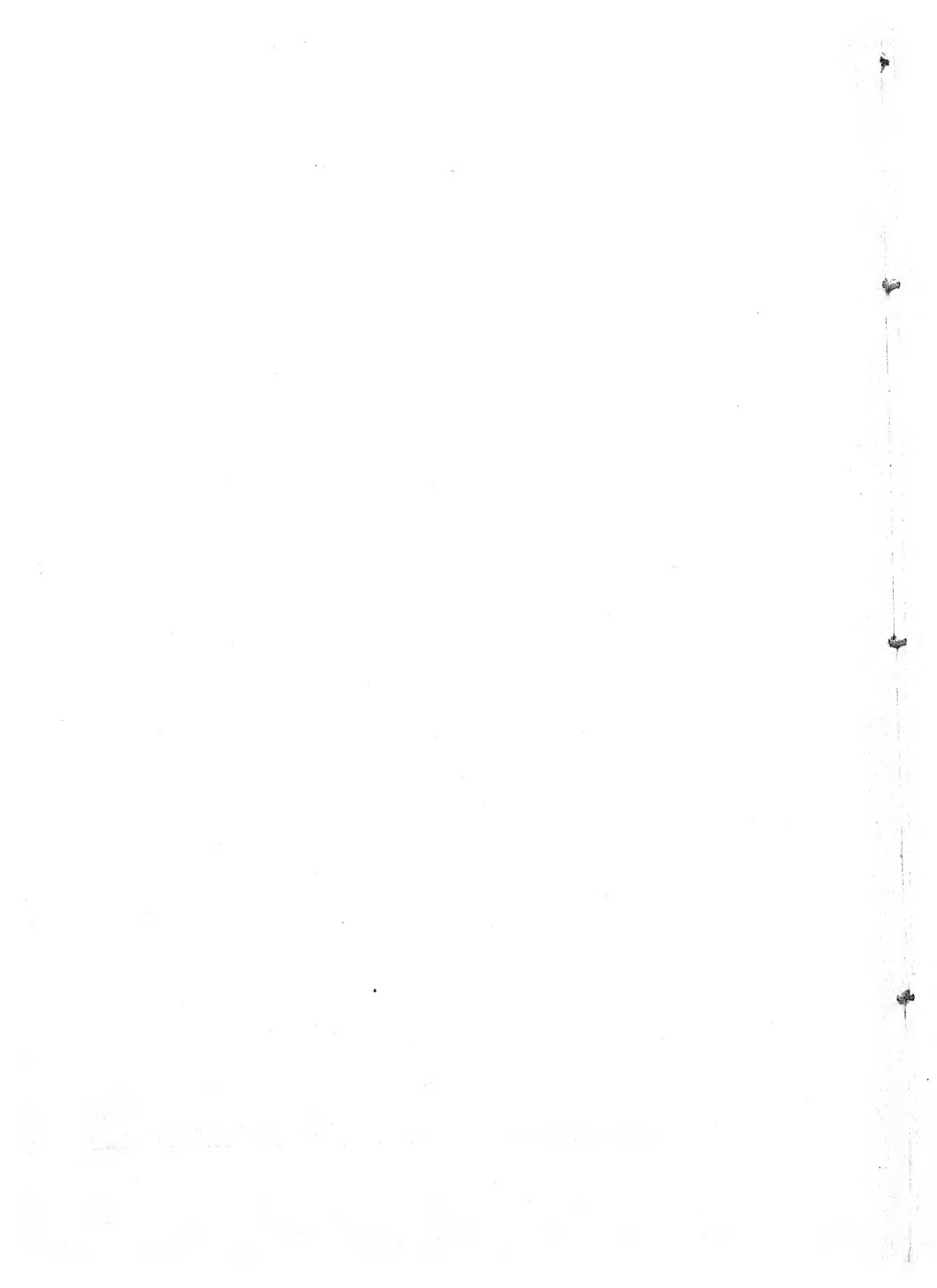
1. Sūrya from Niyamatpur (Rajshahi).

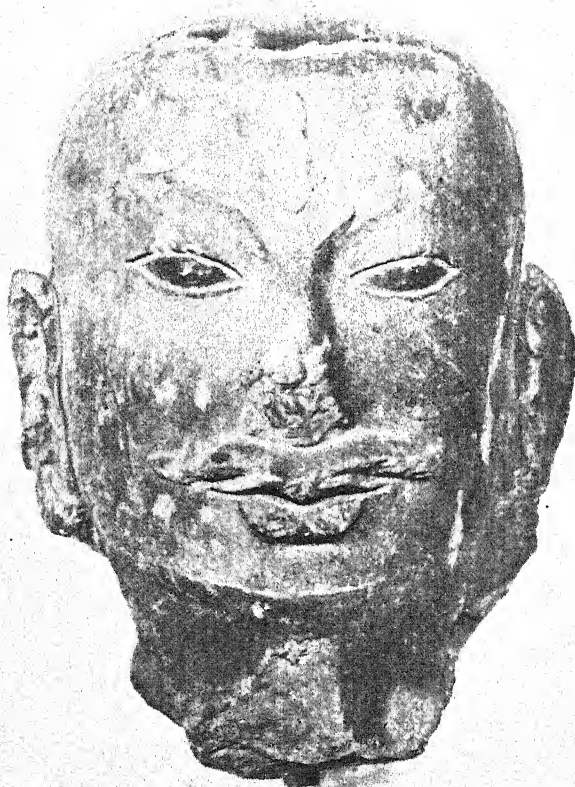
By courtesy of the Rajshahi Museum authorities.



2. Viṣṇu from Hankrail (Maldah).

By courtesy of the Rajshahi Museum authorities.





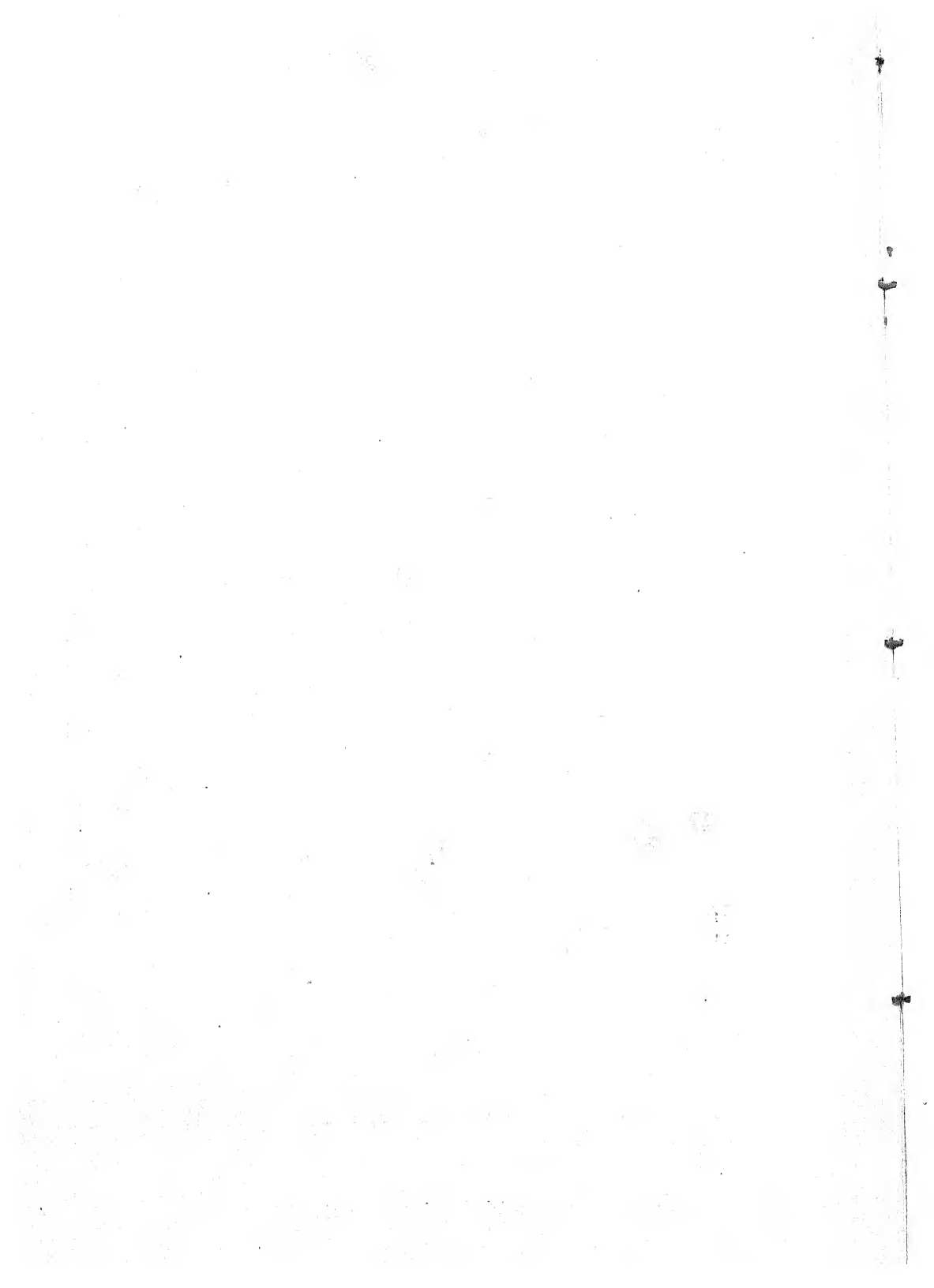
3. Colossal head from Dinajpur.

By courtesy of the Rajshahi Museum authorities.



4. Buddha from Biharail (Rajshahi).

By courtesy of the Rajshahi Museum authorities.



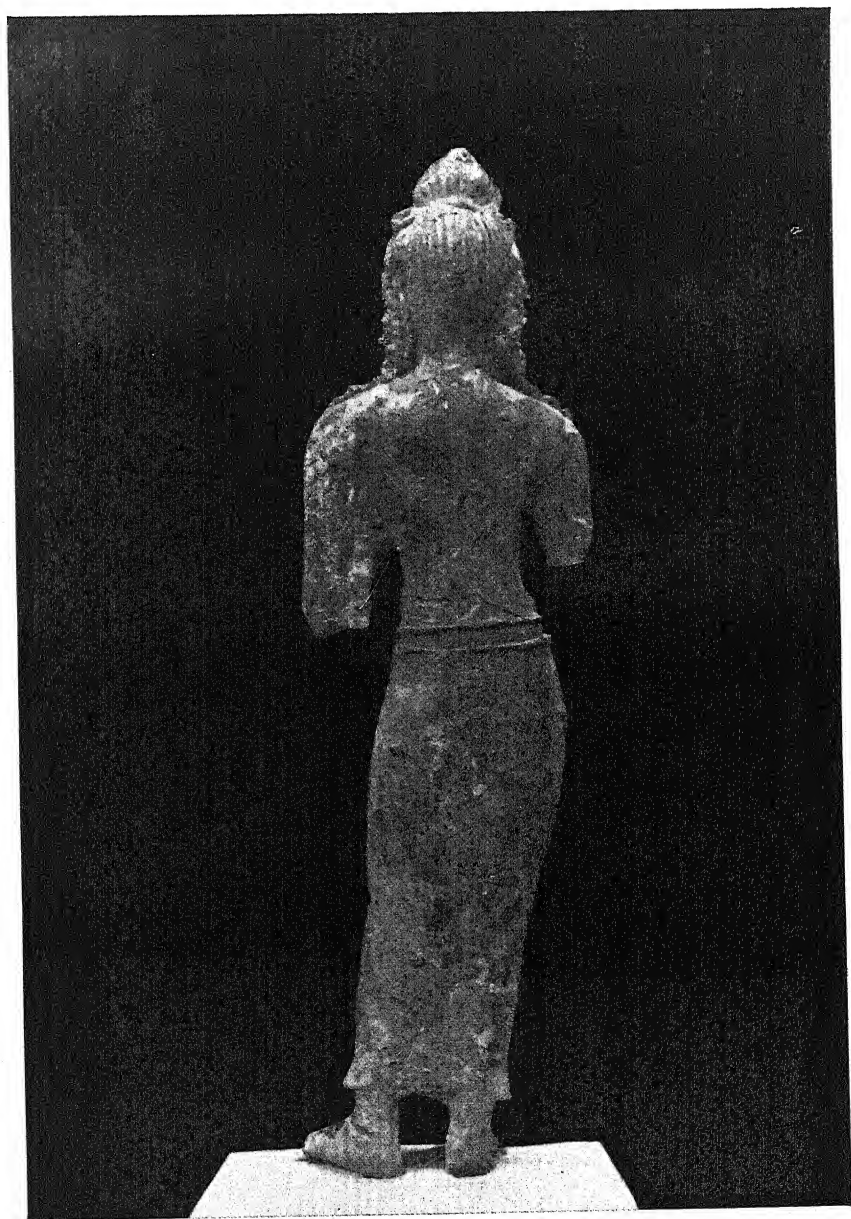


5. Sūrya from Deora (Bogra).



6. Mañjuśrī from Mahāsthān (Bogra)—Front.

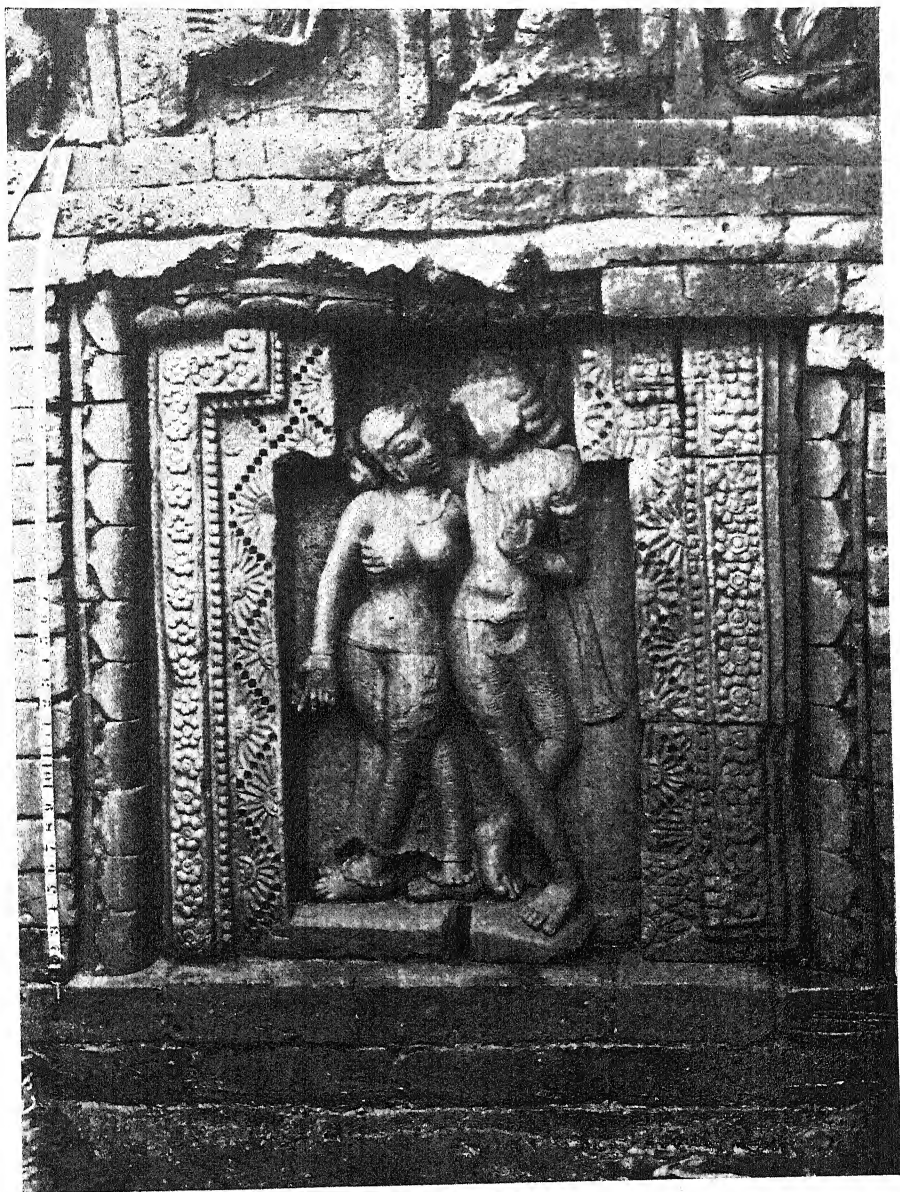
By courtesy of the Rajshahi Museum authorities.



7. Mañjuśrī from Mahāsthān (Bogra)—Back.

By courtesy of the Rajshahi Museum authorities.



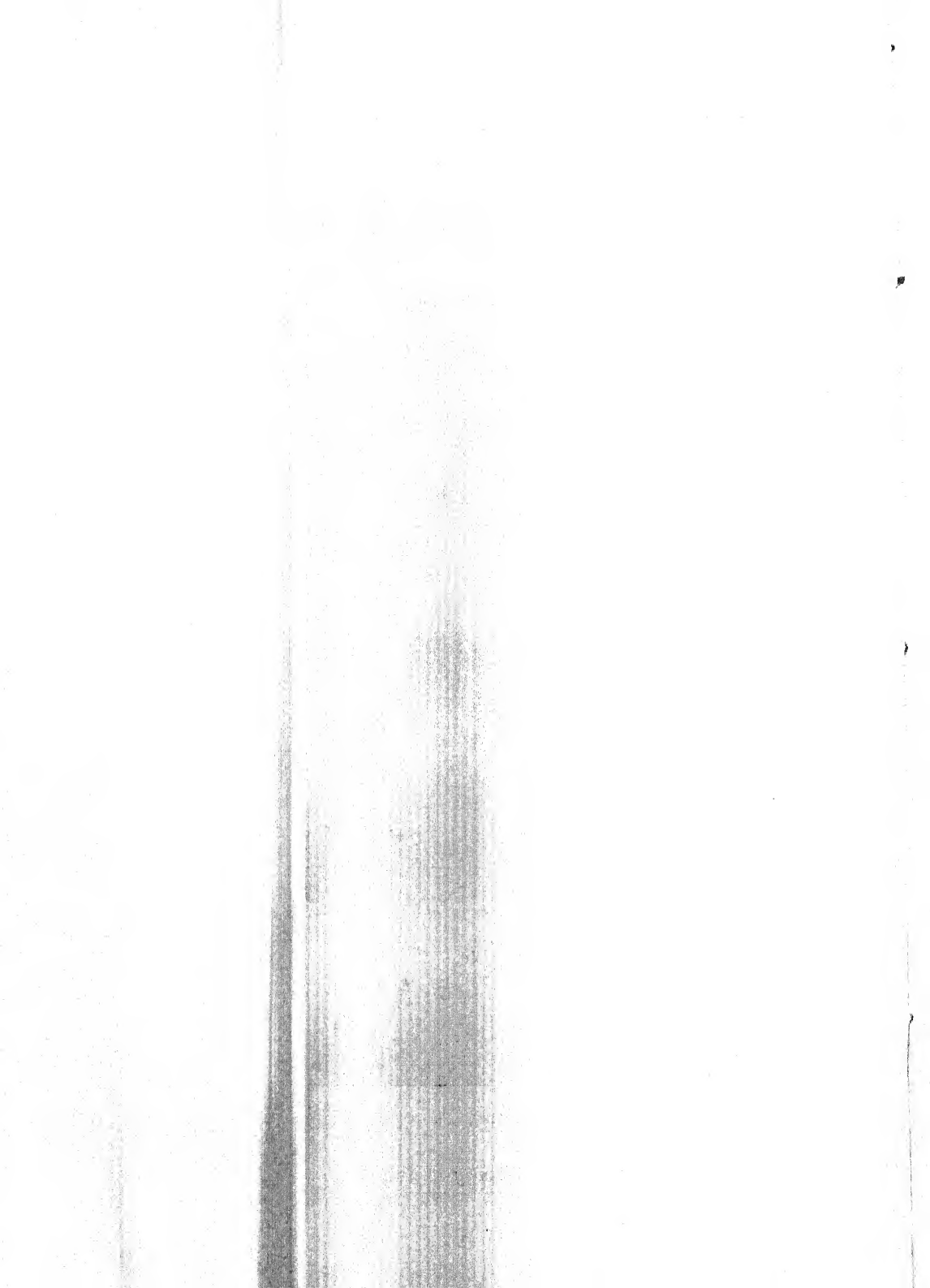


8. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (?), Paharpur (Rajshahi).



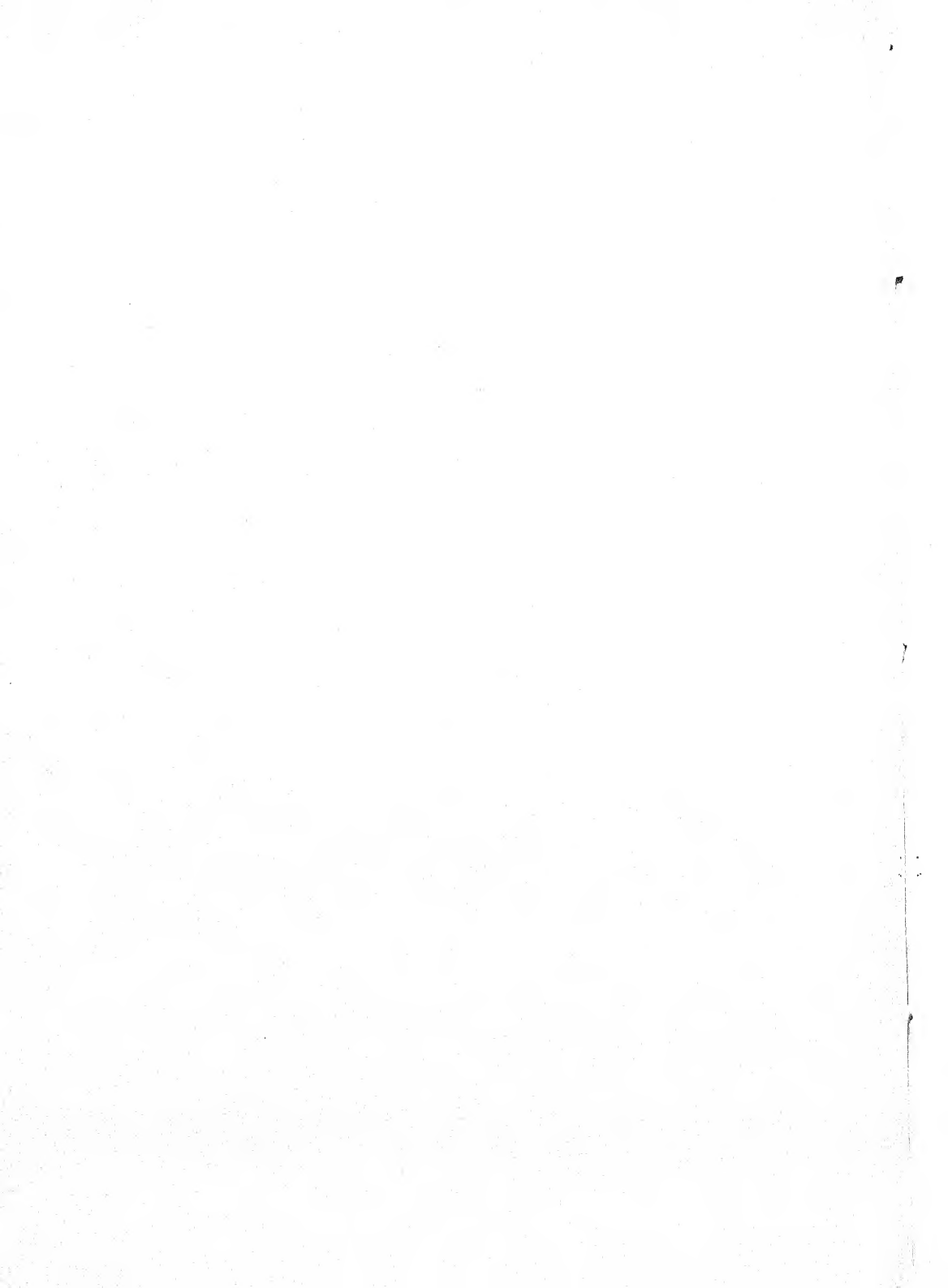
9. Yamunā, Paharpur (Rajshahi).

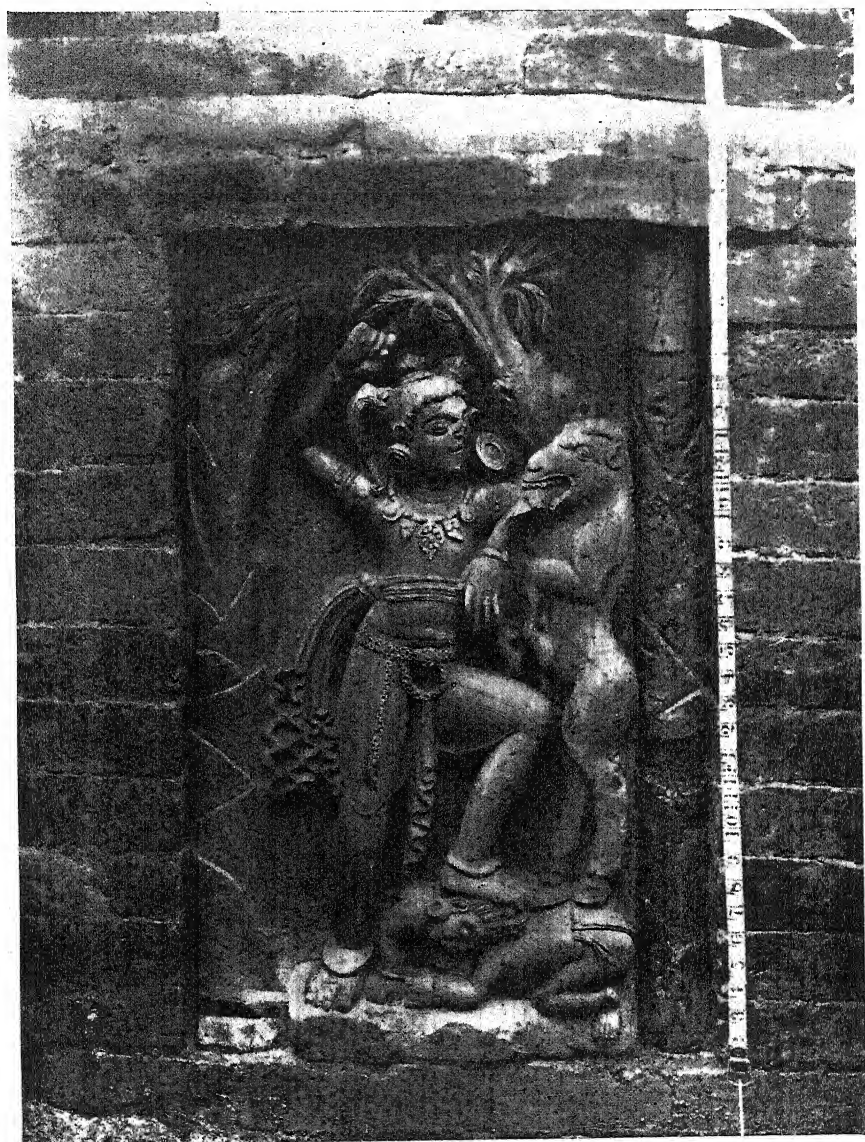
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10. Balarāma, Paharpur (Rajshahi).



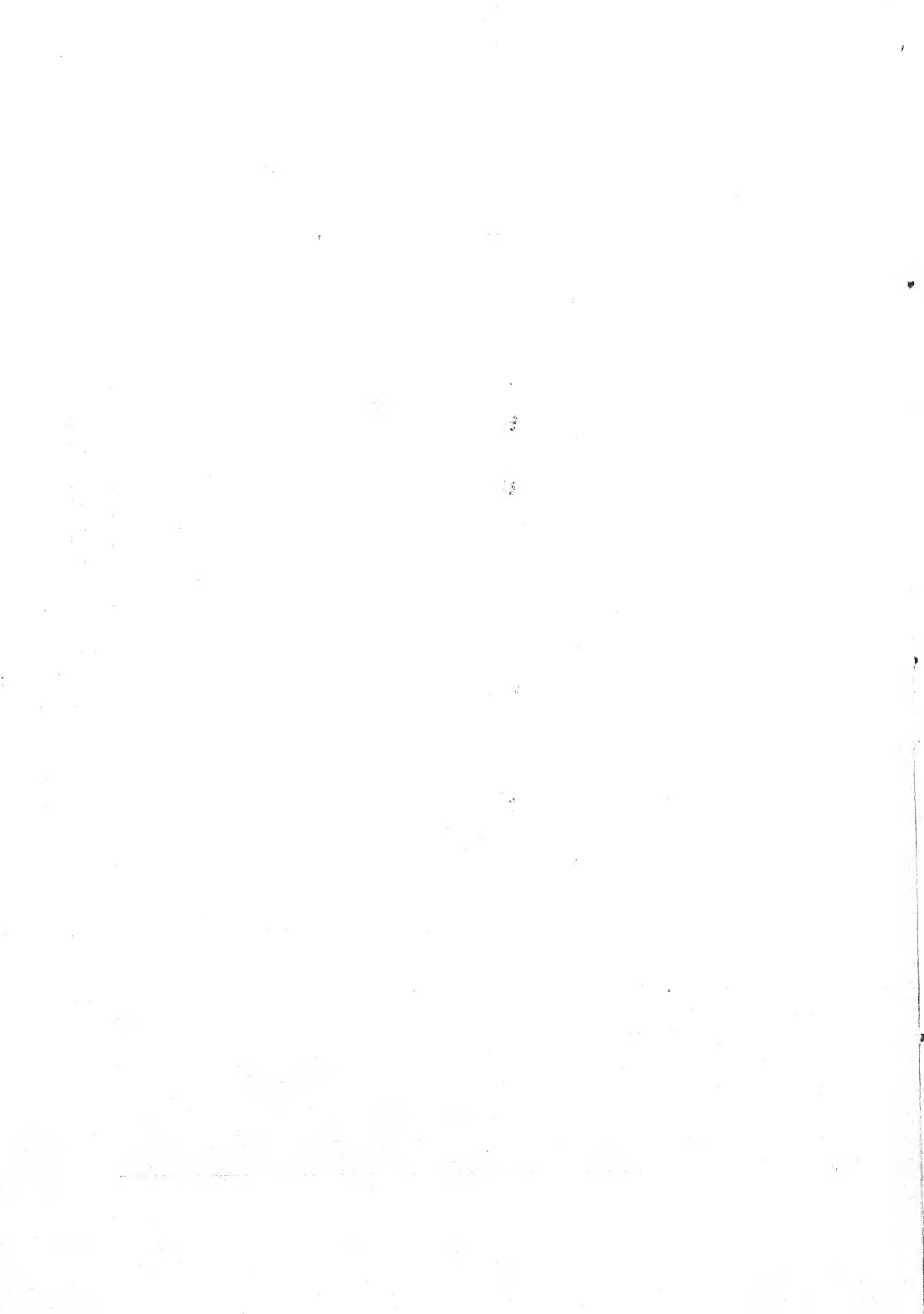


12. Kṛṣṇa killing the Demon Keśin, Paharpur (Rajshahi).

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13. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma fighting with Kūṁsa's wrestlers,
Paharpur (Rajshahi).



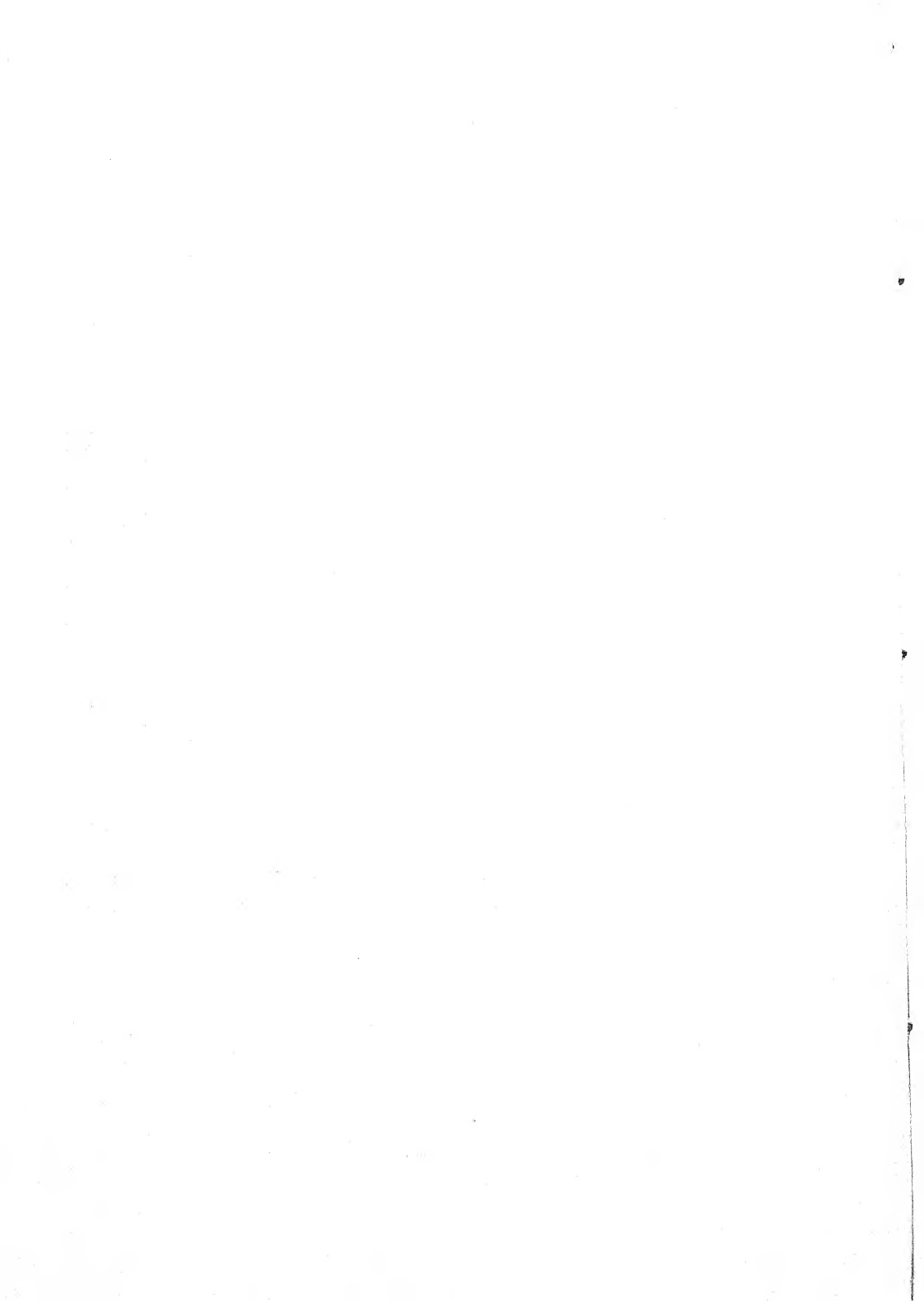


14. Kṛṣṇa uprooting the twin Arjuna trees, Paharpur
(Rajshahi).



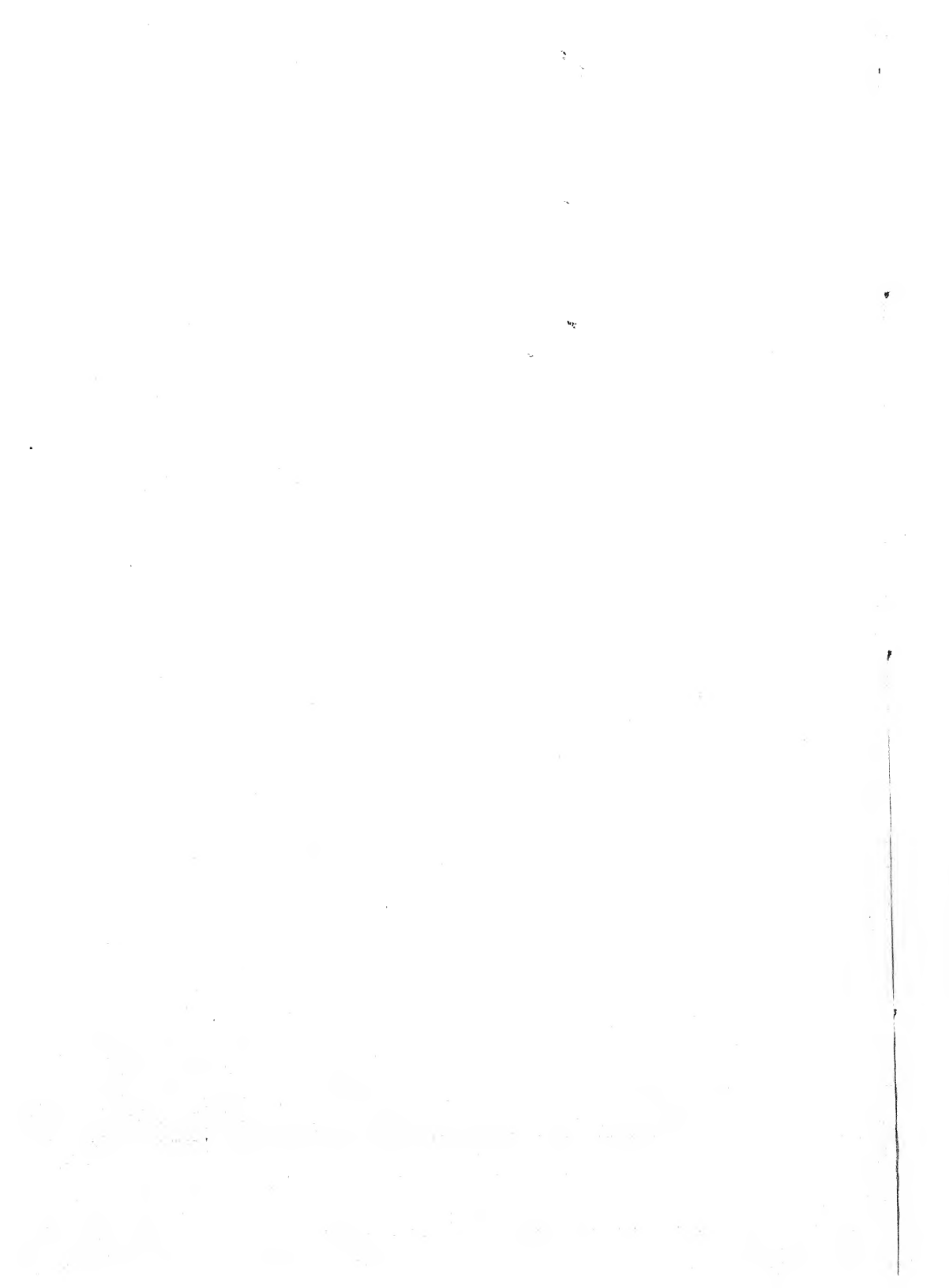
15. Indra, Paharpur (Rajshahi).

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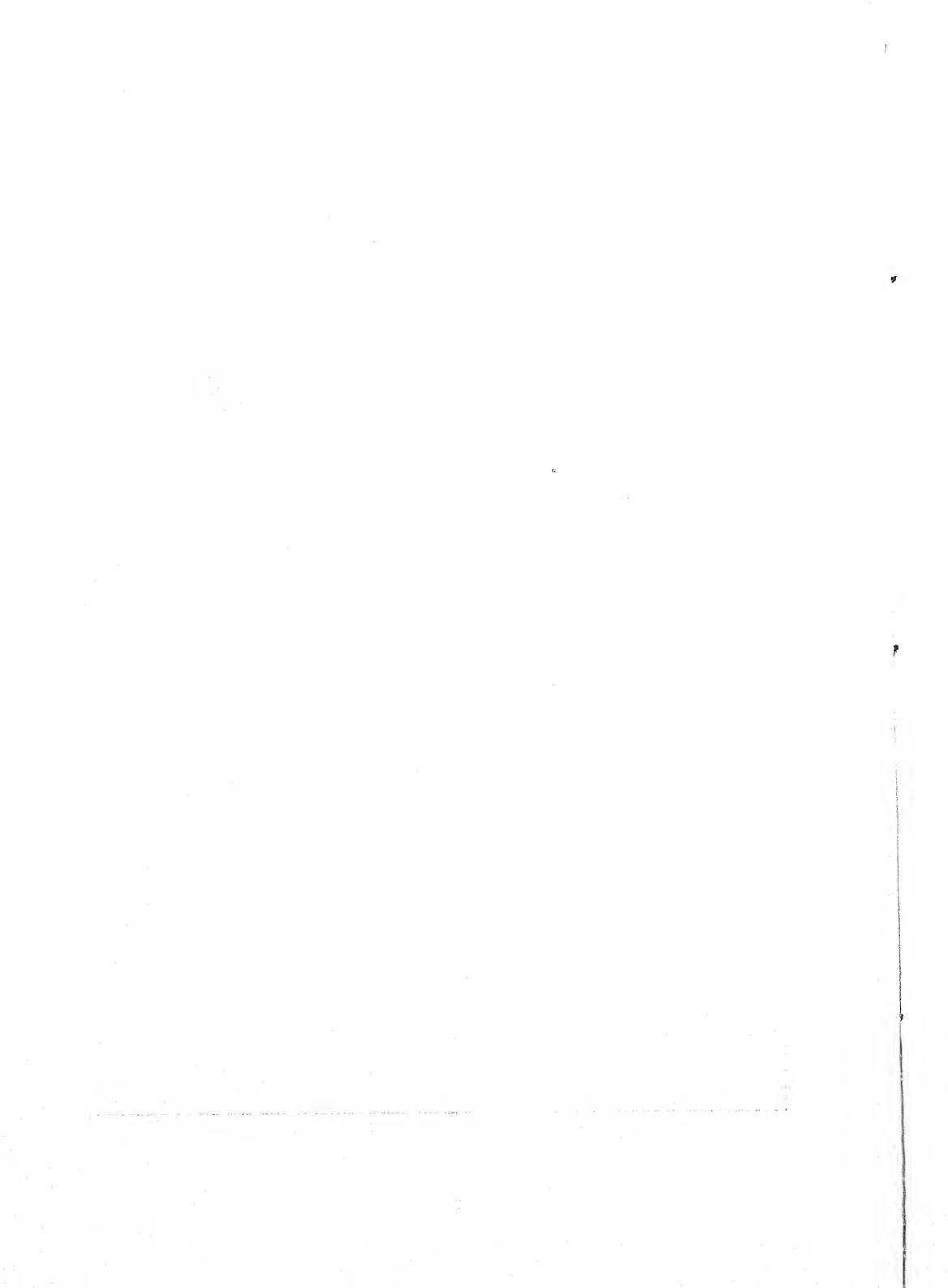
16. Agni, Paharpur (Rajshahi).





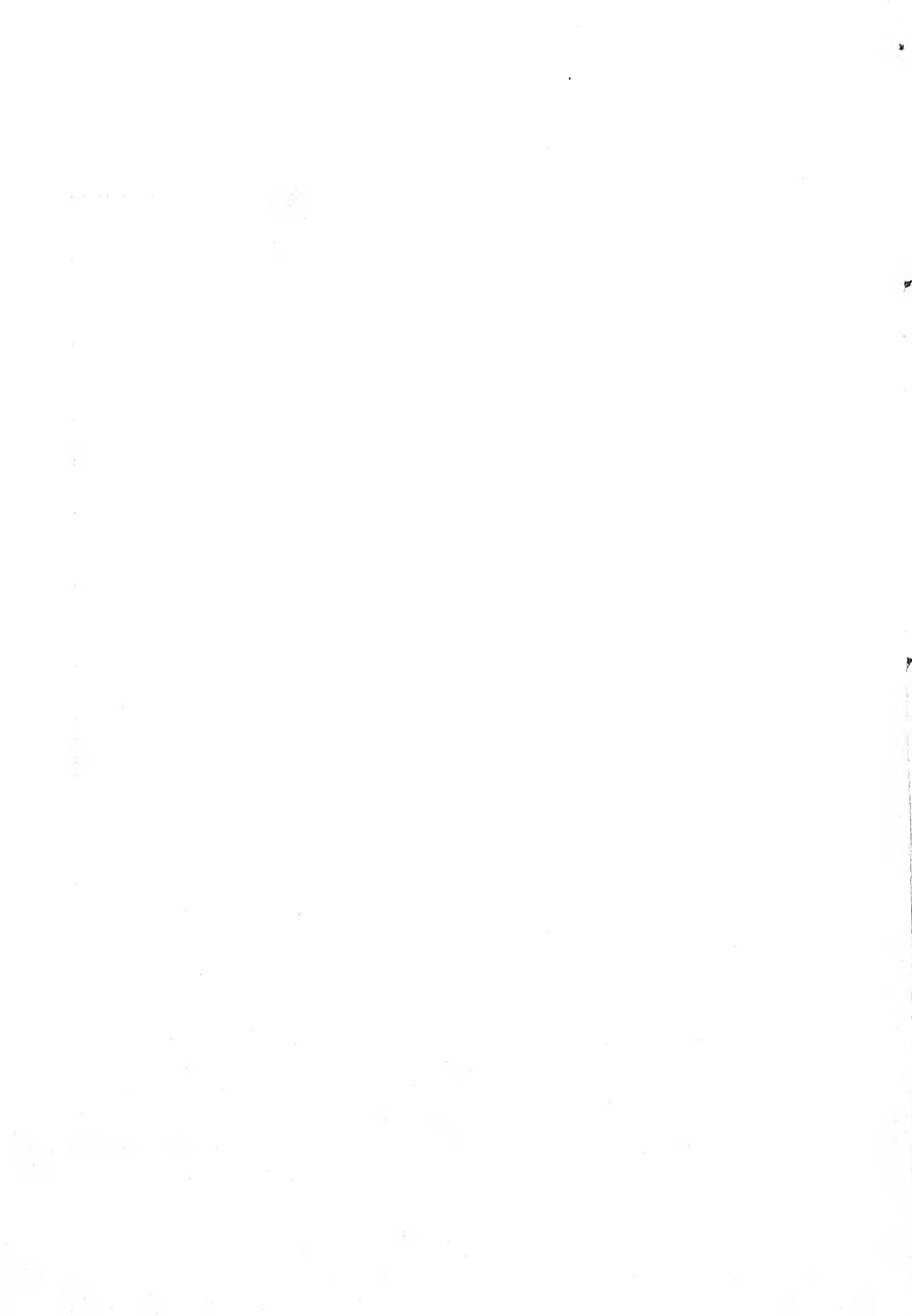
17. Brhaspati, Paharpur (Rajshahi).

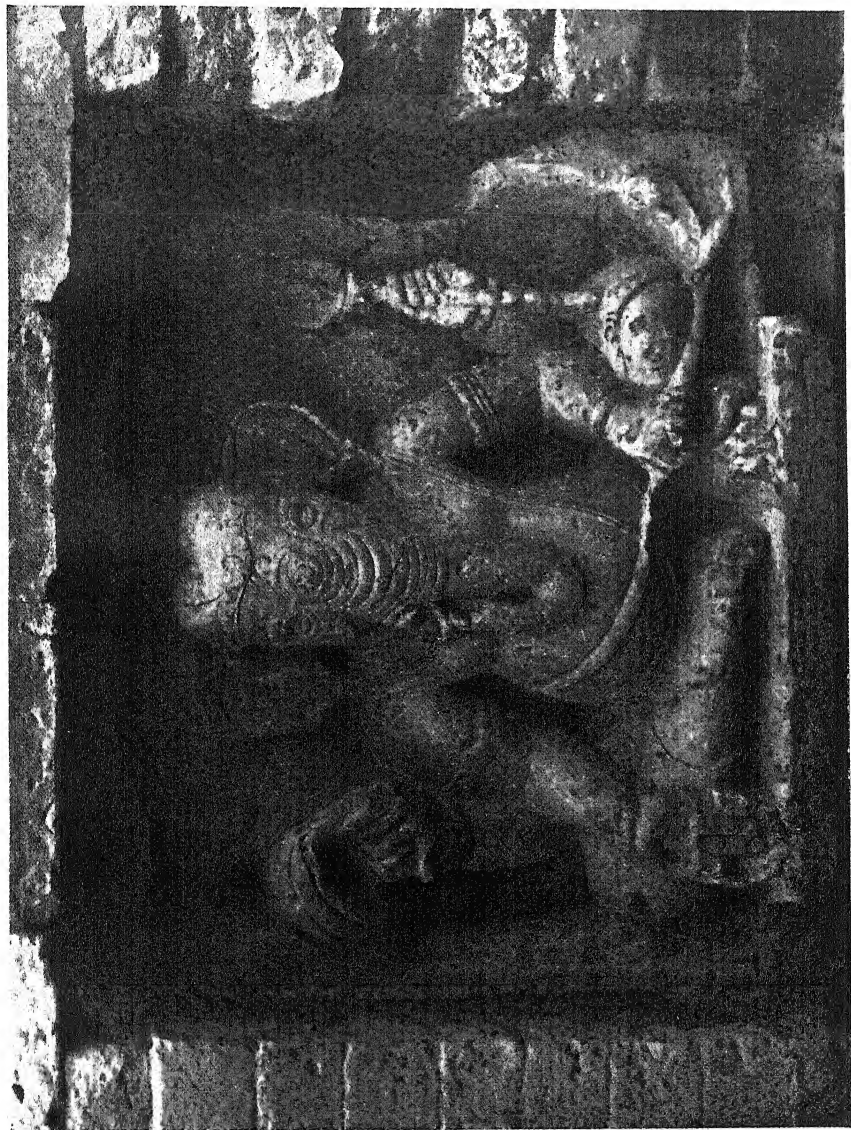
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18. Siva (?) with flower, Paharpur (Rajshahi).





19. Gaṇeśa, Paharpur (Rajshahi).

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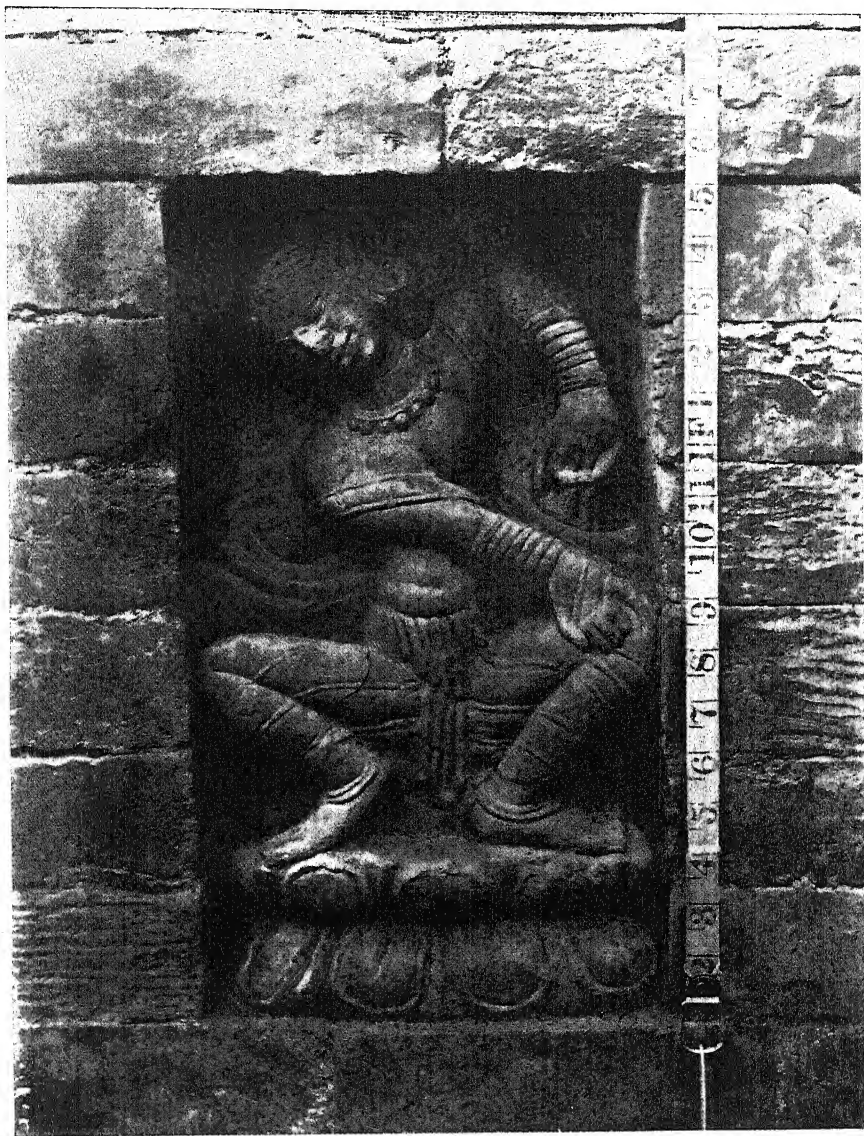
20. Fight between Bāli and Sugrīva, Paharpur (Rajshahi).



21. Monkey carrying Loads of Stone, Paharpur (Rajshahi).

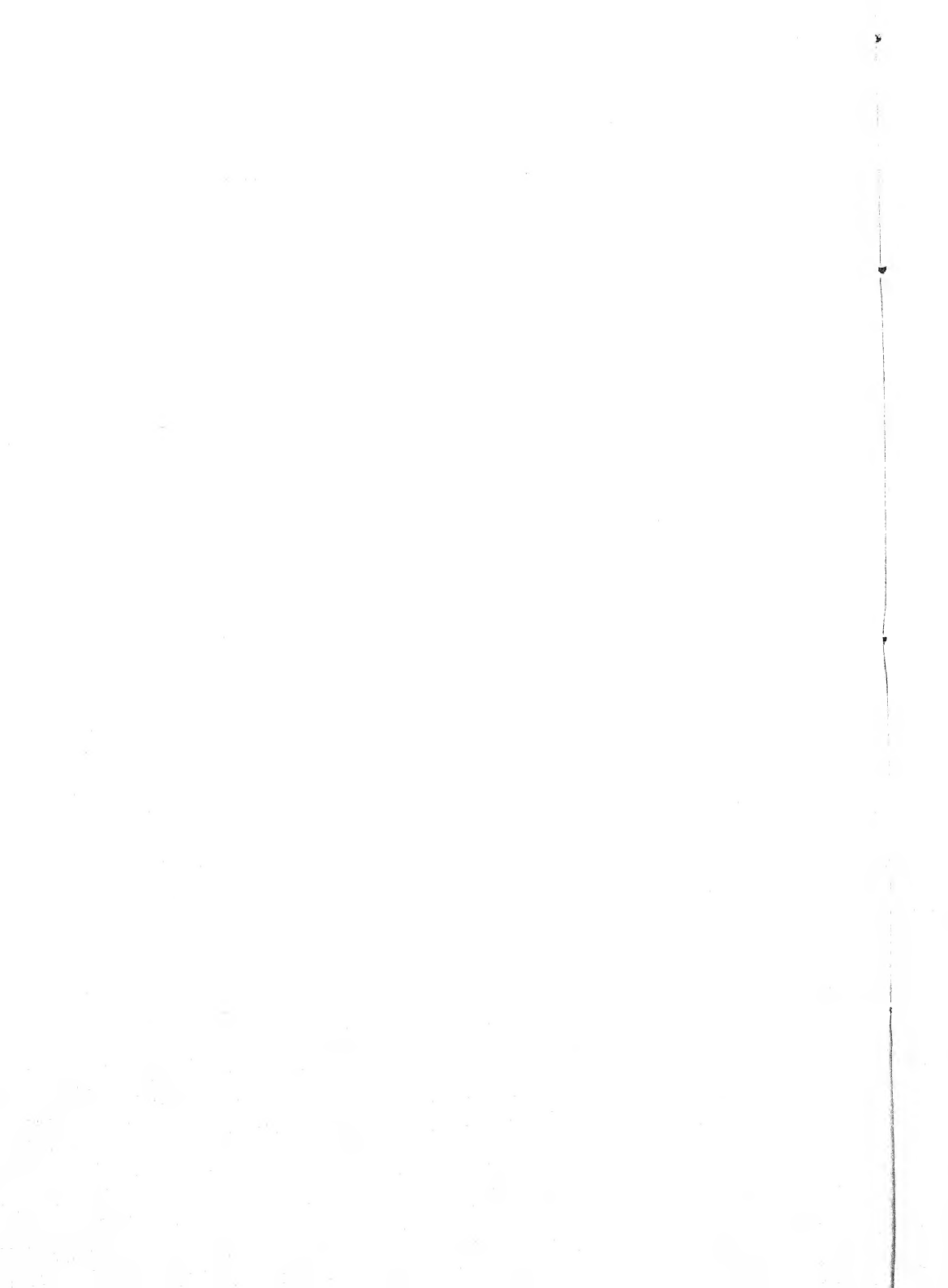


22. Dancing Figure, Paharpur (Rajshahi).



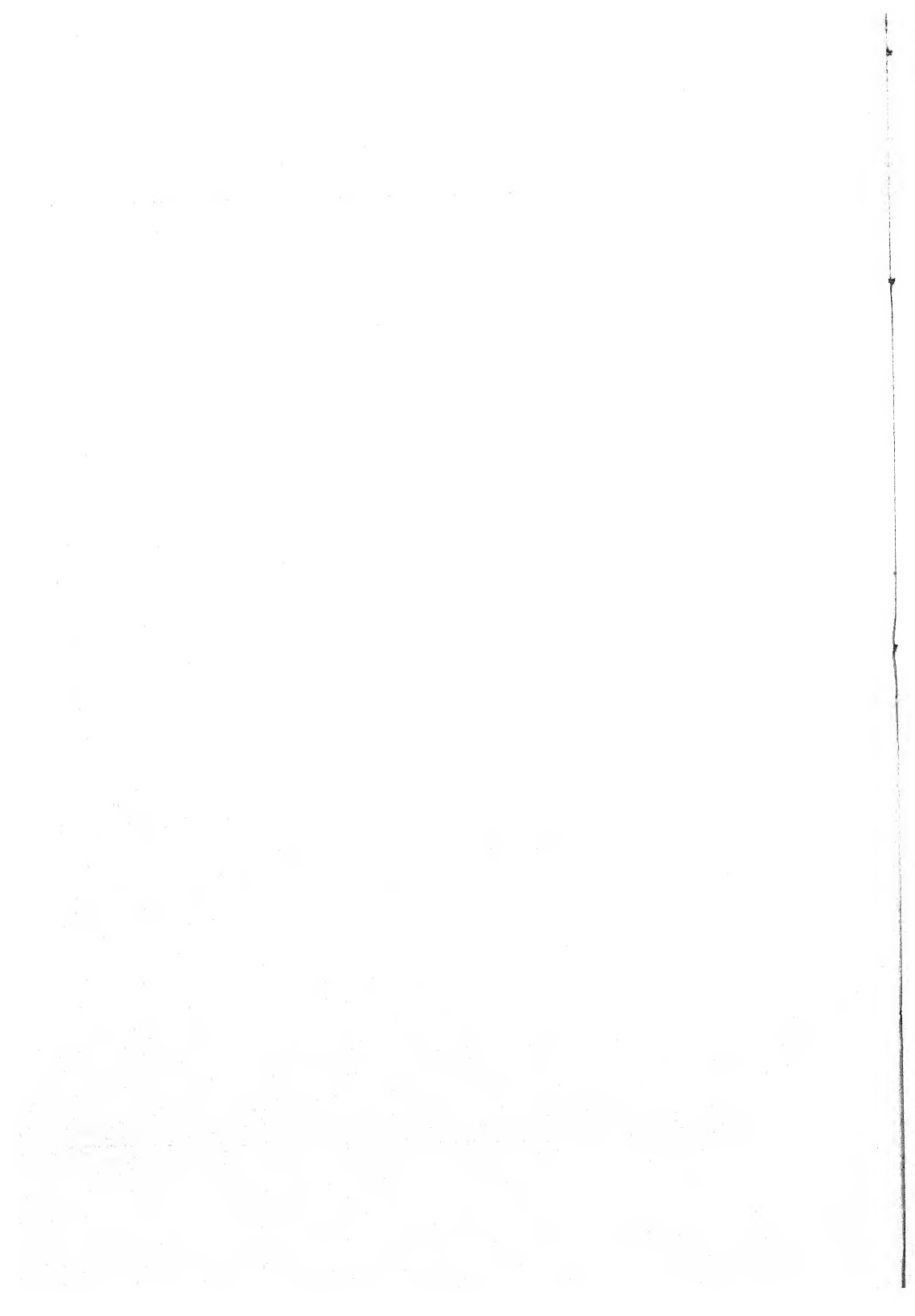
23. Dancing Figure, Paharpur (Rajshahi).

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24. Amorous Couple, Paharpur (Rajshahi).



ŚIVA MAHEŚWARA

BY

PHANI BHUSAN ROY, M.A.

INTRODUCTORY.

(1)

I. *Karma-Mārga or the Path of Desire.*

The Vedic ideal is sakāma karma (fruit-bearing action) and the Vedic God (whether Indra, Varuṇa or Agni) is invoked in a Yajña ceremony by the Yajamāna for the fulfilment of some desire or desires—the whole thing being modelled upon the primitive desire-yajña of Prajāpati. Now, it is clear that if the Yajamāna performs a meritorious action desiringly (uśan), he must enjoy the fruit or fruits of that action—so acquisition of merit and enjoyment (of the fruits of merit) will weave a net around him from which there can be no escape (indeed, the question of escape or Mukti does not arise here at all, for why would the Enjoyer pine for salvation?), for, the more the Yajamāna performs (it is his primary duty to perform) the more he has to enjoy, so it virtually becomes a never-ending tale of desiring and enjoying, again and again. This is the path (ūti) of Yajña—the path of acquiring merit (in Yajña performances) and enjoying its fruits (either in this life, or in next life, or in heaven) so much so that the greatest achievement, on the part of the Yajamāna, is to become another Indra (the ruler of the heaven of desire) by performing, meticulously and uninterruptedly, a series of a hundred Aśwamedha sacrifices.¹

¹ Swargakāmah aśwamedhena yajeta (He who desires for heaven should perform the Aśwamedha sacrifice)—this is the unanimous opinion of the Brāhmaṇas about the reward of the Aśwamedha sacrifice. But why should we single out the Aśwamedha sacrifice?—“Swargah” is the highest reward of all sacrifices; as Jaimini authoritatively pronounces, “Sa swargah sarvān pratya-viśiṣṭatwāt” [swargah is the highest reward of all sacrifices, particularly of those (Viśwajit for example) where no fruit has been expressly mentioned].

That so long we have been emphasising upon desire and enjoyment, some may think that the Vedic Aryans were a people, given to enjoyment—that “eat drink and be merry” was their motto in life. Nothing can be more erroneous or beside the point. We are simply to remember one fact—how all the other Yajñas were interpreted in the light of the self-sacrificing Yajña of Prajāpati. Prajāpati, in order to enjoy the pleasure of creating this world, had to sacrifice Himself. So enjoyment came through and after sacrifice. In other words, the scheme of Aryan enjoyment of life was not brutal, material, philistine; nor the ceremonies of Yajña orgiastic—because enjoyment came and must come in and through sacrifice. As language rhythmically arranged becomes poetry, so enjoyment, rhythmically indulged, becomes Aryan enjoyment; desire and sacrifice, giving and then having—this is the Aryan scheme of life and enjoyment. But that these virile people were not afraid to desire neither were they loath to enjoy should be remembered by all who care to understand Yajña and the Yajña-regulated life-scheme of the ancient Aryans of India. This is, in brief, the Yajña-yāna of our Vedic forefathers and their philosophy of sacrifice and enjoyment through sacrifice.

II. *Jñāna-Mārga or the Path of Non-desire.*

Prajāpati, on the eve of creation, desired—I shall be many; here we come across two conceptions—desire (akāmayata) and plurality (bahu syām). The two greatest thought-currents of Aryan India have severally attacked these two great conceptions—desire and plurality; and hence we have got the two greatest philosophical systems of the world—the Ātman-philosophy of the Upaniṣads and the Nirvāṇa-philosophy of the Jainas and the Buddhists. The Upaniṣads were out to discover unity in variety, the one in the many, the changeless in the midst of changes, the eternal and the everlasting in the midst of things of decay and death. By relentless analysis (Na iti, na iti) they at last arrived at that grand synthesis (the conception of Ātman) which, I think,

is the greatest speculative achievement of the human mind. Be that as it may, let us now try to evaluate the Ātman-theory in proper historical perspective. Prajāpati is Becoming whereas Ātman is Being. So the theory of Ātman was the first serious challenge to the creed and supremacy of Prajāpati. In other words, the "unity" (Pre-creational Prajāpati must have been "unity" or how could He desire to be many?) which the plurality-desire of Prajāpati broke into pieces was restored by the synthetical wisdom of the aupaniṣadikas. Now, it is very clear that Ātman-theorists would never care to call this restored "unity" Prajāpati—for their main business was to explain away the multiform creed of Prajāpati who must always create and set up in its place the uniform theory of Ātman, who neither creates nor is created. The preaching and the prevalence of the Ātman-theory came gradually to wean people's minds from the creative aspect of the ultimate Being. Thus, both creator and creation became things of secondary importance and Prajāpati (creative creator) began to appeal less and less to the imagination of the thoughtful people. So, what wonder if people came to give up the "aham bahu syām" attitude towards life and came to view the meditative trance of a sannyāsin (or vānaprasthin) (who must sacrifice all to realise self) as man's greatest glory in life. However that be, with the dislodgment of Prajāpati, the desirous scheme of life (of the Vedists) fell into disrepute...such is, in brief, the historical importance of the Ātman-theory of the aupaniṣadikas.

The passage from the Ātman-theory to the Nirvāṇa-theory was facilitated (in my humble opinion) by a remarkable system of philosophical thought—the Sāṅkhyān system of Kapila. In order to appreciate the truth of this remark, we shall have to bear in mind that, though the aupaniṣadikas have tried their utmost to glorify Ātman in language of highest sublimity, yet they have nowhere defined clearly their attitude to Anātman—things that exist in time and space and therefore must perish. Yet the implication was that, compared with the knowledge and realisation of

Ātman (who is eternal bliss) material things were fraught with suffering, sorrow and disaster. Two great episodes—Nachiketa and Yama and Yājñavalkya and Maitreyī—are cases in point. The Sāṅkhyan system seems to have seized upon this sorrow-laden aspect of life and matter and have built upon this foundation of sorrow, its mighty system of transcendental philosophy. But it is not at all my intention to appear to be dogmatic—so I readily concede that it may very well be that the Buddha first thought out the philosophy of Duha and the Sāṅkhyan system borrowed wholesale from it. All that I want to stress is that the Ātman-theory was the first rift in the lute, the first tasting of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, the first disenchantment and disillusion about life and its inevitable enjoyments, the first crusade, declared against Kāma, the God of Desire. Indeed, it was, by the preaching of this philosophy, that the imaginative wholeness of life was sadly and irreparably shattered to pieces. The Ātman-philosophy achieved a very great thing (!) ; it proclaimed or tended to proclaim the world to be Anātman. Now, from Anātman to Duha, it is an easy and a fatally facile passage. So it is clear that Buddhism was derived from Ātmanism directly or through the intervention of Sāṅkhyaism.¹ Now, the Buddha did believe in the worthlessness of life and matter; but he proceeded to it in a very peculiar manner. He did not attack so much “plurality” as “desire,” the primitive creational desire of Prajāpati. The world is really “one,” yet we apparently are conscious of “many.” So “plurality” is Avidyā (want of knowledge) ; the

¹ Let us hazard a speculation here :—Mahenjo-daro has proved that Yōga is a pre-Aryan practice. Now, as Yōga is intimately connected with the Sāṅkhya, we may hazard a speculation that the Sāṅkhya system of thought is also of pre-Aryan and non-Aryan origin. For aught we know the Vedic society was patriarchal whereas pre-Vedic society was matriarchal. Now, to hold up the quiescent ideal of Yōga to such a restless and dynamic people as the Vedic Aryans would have been quite an impossibility if the Aryans, in the meantime, were not very thoroughly influenced by the matriarchal form of pre-Aryan society. In my humble opinion, the static ideal of Yōga and the lugubrious ideal of Sāṅkhyan Puruṣa were really suggested by matriarchy and the matriarchal form of society in which the males occupy a listless and a decidedly lower (from economic and legal standpoint of view) and a secondary position.

world is sorrow because it is built upon passion and desire—so desire is Māra or death (want of character). So we see the Ātman-theory emphasised upon knowledge ; the Nirvāṇa-theory while emphasising upon knowledge, emphasised also upon desirelessness and purity of character. The Buddha, however, did not accept Ātman and the theory of Ātman, because to him supreme existence had no meaning but he staked his all upon the absolute and the total extinction of desire, which would set men free from the bondage of sorrow, *i.e.*, being and becoming.

A distinguished western critic has observed—if only the Buddha had met a Professor of the Ātman-theory in his itinerary his intellectual hunger would have been appeased and there would have been no Buddhistic schism in the ancient Aryan world. Nothing could be more senseless than this view. The Buddha thoroughly understood and appreciated the Upaniṣad-theory of the “one”—but he did not find any consolation in that and the reason is obvious.¹ Plurality is sorrow..... in this there was no divergence of opinion between the Ātman-theorist and the Buddha. But whereas the Ātman-theorist would rest content with knowing that in this seeming spectacle of plurality, the truth is unity, the Buddha wanted to do away with plurality altogether ; and as plurality was caused by desire—the primitive desire of Prajāpati—he most vigorously and uncompromisingly attacked desire. In other words, while the Ātman theorists condemned Avidyā (want of knowledge) as the root of all evil, the Buddha condemned Tanhā (lack of character) as the cause of all sorrow and disaster. So it is that the Upaniṣad-thinkers did not attack Yajña (though they were not so much enamoured of the desirous scheme of life which Yajña upheld) because they did not condemn creation so much as they wanted to understand creation—how the changeless and the deathless one gives meaning to

¹ It might be reasonably surmised that the Buddha (a man of his towering intellect and so spiritually inclined) was thoroughly acquainted with the Upaniṣadic system of thought, though any direct proof of his acquaintance cannot be cited. But, taking for granted that he was not acquainted, even then it can be shown that if he were very thoroughly acquainted with it, he could never have accepted it (the theory of Ātman) as his philosophy of life.

the varied pageant of change and flux in this world (which knowledge led them to the startling discovery that the Man-soul and the world-soul are really the one and the same substance). But the Buddha, making up his mind about the worthlessness of the world and creation, attacked desire, the root cause of creation ; so he had to attack Yajña (the visible symbol of creation) and thus aim a death-blow at the very root of the Aryan's social, political and cultural existence. Now, it is clear that the most felicitous and lucid exposition of the Ātman-theory could never have satisfied the Buddha because whereas the theory of Ātman proved the bliss of supreme existence, the Buddha wanted to prove the *douleur* (misery) of all existence whatsoever. Moreover, from the Buddhistic philosophical standpoint, there is no such thing as real existence—everything, in this world, being unmitigated change and flux (*anitya, anātmā*).¹ So the Ātman-theory would have appeared to the Buddha to be a square peg in a round hole.

¹ *Sarvam anityam* (impermanence); *Sarvam dukkham* (sorrow or imperfection); *Sarvam anātmam* (phenomenalism).

It is well-known that the doctrine of impermanence, etc., was the most fundamental and root-going item of belief with the Buddha and the Buddhists. Now the question is—Did the Buddha believe in Ātman ? The Buddha readily believed in *ajāta, abhūta, akṛta*, etc. (unborn, uncreate, unbecome, etc.). Now, if the idea wanted to be expressed by *ajāta* (unborn), etc., was the same that was conveyed by “Ātman,” then the Buddha could have easily used the expression “Ātman” and joined his forces with those of the thinkers of the Upaniṣadic school of thought. But the Buddha did not; so we are to start with two suppositions in order to explain the attitude of the Buddha to this question. Either the Buddha thought that *ajāta* (unborn) and Ātman were two distinct conceptions or the Buddha was not acquainted with the expression “Ātman” or being acquainted, he was loath to use it. But the second supposition cannot be logically upheld—for the Buddha used the expression “*Sarvam anātmam*” most readily—so it is clear that the Buddha was conversant with the theory of Ātman. Thus we are forced to accept the first supposition that in the view of the Buddha “*ajāta* and Ātman” were really two distinct conceptions. Moreover, the Buddha emphatically repudiated the idea that he was a *Śāśvatavādin* (eternalism). Now, if the Buddha was not a *Śāśvatavādin*, was he a nihilist or an *Ucchedavādin* ? We are, in a position, to give a categorical reply to the query. The Buddha was never an *Ucchedavādin*—simply because of the fact that to an *Ucchedavādin* life has got no moral meaning whatsoever whereas to the Buddha or the Buddhists, life is a gigantic moral endeavour—a life-long consecration to higher and nobler pursuits. So it is clear that the Buddha did not believe in supreme existence (Ātman) or in non-existence or nihilism. So logically speaking *Nirvāṇa* (the Buddhistic *Summum Bonum*) is a state about which existence or non-existence cannot be affirmed or denied.

However that be, dissatisfaction with the world and creation led to two apotheoses in the Aryan thinking world—the intuitional apotheosis, culminating in the theory of Ātman and the rational and ethical apotheosis, culminating in the theory of Nirvāṇa. So Jñāna-mārga or the Aryan path of knowledge ended in these two supreme hypotheses—Ātman and Nirvāṇa.

III. *The Bhakti-mārga or the Path of Dedicated Desire.*

Buddhism, it is well-known, was first preached to a coterie ; ultimately it became a world religion. What converted the religion of a coterie into a world religion ? The answer to this question would be a seemingly impossible one—the doctrine of Nirvāṇa. The doctrine of Nirvāṇa, as such, *i.e.*, the philosophical doctrine of Nirvāṇa, was not responsible for this culmination ; it was a novel orientation of the doctrine that brought the whole world to the fold of the Buddha. The philosophical doctrine of Nirvāṇa, it is obvious, was too subtle and quiescent an ideal for the generality of the people ; the Śīla and Vinaya Regulations were too much kaṭhina (difficult), a Kaṭhina-yāna (path of difficulty) for average men and women. So gradually a peculiar and a mysterious change took place in the religious outlook of the followers of the Buddha. The history of this changed outlook is the history of the universal triumph of Buddhism. The Yajña-vāda propounded—he who performs a meritorious action shall enjoy the fruit or fruits thereof. The Buddha, by setting up the ideal of Nirvāṇa, proved (nay, demonstrated) the peril of the path of desiring and enjoying ;—so gradually Nirvāṇa came to be regarded as that which saved men from the clutches of desire and enjoyment. In other words, the function of Nirvāṇa was to absorb the merits of action and thus set people free (from Punarbhava), making them no longer liable to enjoy the fruits of their actions. Thus Nirvāṇa stood between actions and their inevitable fruits (as if it were a “ Sinking Fund ” to pay off the debts of this life and past lives) always

tending to the path of desirelessness and salvation. Now if there be any entity that could, like Nirvāṇa, absorb the fruits of action and thereby set people free (from Punarbhava), it would be entitled to the highest honour and adoration by all. This entity makes its appearance, in the history of world religion, as the God of the Bhakti cult. The Buddha attained to Nirvāṇa ; in popular imagination, he was gradually identified with Nirvāṇa. [People might have unconsciously reasoned like this—if the performance of a hundred Aśwamedha sacrifices converts the Yajamāna into Indra, why the attainment of Nirvāṇa would not convert the Nirvāṇa-seeker into Nirvāṇa, *i.e.*, the power that can absorb the fruits of action and thus set people free (from Punarbhava).] So when a Buddhist prays, “I take refuge with the Buddha,” he does not offer his prayer to the Buddha, the son of Śuddhodana or to some non-entity but to the resurrected Nirvāṇa, in short, the God of the Bhakti cult. Indeed, the Buddha, by preaching, propounding and attaining to Nirvāṇa, came ultimately to be credited with the power of granting Nirvāṇa, *i.e.*, Nirvāṇa became something living that could be approached for the highest good of life—deliverance. Now, it is clear that the God of the Bhakti cult should always have Nirvāṇa-qualification.¹ He must be able to free people from the bondage of action and lead them to the goal of salvation. The Lord (in the Lord’s Song) says—I shall liberate you from all sinful actions—this is a characteristic speech of the God of the Bhakti cult ; Kālidāsa prays—O Nīlāhita, grant that I am not born again—this is a characteristic prayer to the God of the Bhakti cult.² Be that as

¹ For the fulfilment of desires, the Yajamāna tried to please or turned to the Vedic Gods, so the God of the Bhakti cult, in order to justify His *raison d’être*, should promise to bestow something that could not be given by the Vedic Gods—deliverance.

² (a) Aham twām sarvapāpebhyo.....

(Gītā.)

(I shall liberate you from all sinful actions—do not despair.....)

(b) Mamāpi ca kṣapayatu Nīlāhita.....

(Abhi. Śaku.)

(O Nīlāhita, liberate me from the prospect of rebirth.....)

it may, this Bhaktism or salvation-hunger made Buddhism a world religion and the doctrine of Nirvāṇa, it is obvious to all, was primarily responsible for this glorious culmination. Now, let us trace, in brief outline, the emergence of the Buddha as the God of the Bhakti cult.

The Buddha was not originally more than a man, a mortal. Any transcendental or theistic attributes were not ascribed to him ; the highest honour that was paid him, particularly by the Hīnayānists, was that the Buddha (the blessed one) was an Arhat, a fully awakened one. Yet in the Majjhima Nikāya, Ānanda explains why the Buddha should be considered superior to the Arhats as well, although both arrived at the same goal. He says that there is not a single Bhikkhu who can be regarded as endowed with all the qualities in all their forms as possessed by the Buddha. Moreover, a Buddha is the originator of the path ;¹ not existing before—a knower and a promulgator of the Mārga, which is only followed by the Sāvakas.

Here we find how the unconscious process of deification had already begun—how the Buddha, as the originator of the path or Mārga was entitled to the highest honour and adoration by all. The Buddha and the Śrāvakas were, both, Nirvāṇa-seekers ; but the difference between them was a vital and a fundamental one, for, whereas the Śrāvakas merely followed the path to Nirvāṇa the Buddha had promulgated that path to all. Thus, as the path-finder, the Buddha was adored by his followers. So, it was not merely a telling way of putting things (on the part of the Buddha) when he said to Vakkali—Yo mam passati, so dhammam passati (M. Nikāya)—he who sees me, sees Dhamma. Moreover, we read that there were people “aspiring to Buddhahood by the simple act of worshipping a stūpa or making some presents to it.” Thus already the “Kāṭhina-yāna” of the Buddha had been converted into “Sahaja-yāna” by his more ardent and devoted followers. Thus, what began as a great moral and

¹ Padavī.

rational endeavour ended, particularly for the generality of the people, as a religion of faith and adoration, of love and self-surrender. It is as if the fiery, sunny splendour of the month of Vaiśākha¹ is changed, all on a sudden, into the cloud-cool enchantment of a day of Āṣāḍha.²

If the Buddha had lived for ever, Buddhism could never have become a religion of faith. The rationalist and the moralist Buddha could never have sanctioned his own deification, nor he would have allowed his followers to stray from the path of Vinaya to the path of faith and adoration. Moreover, so long as his rūpakāya ("adorned with eighty minor signs and thirty-two major signs of a great man"), *i.e.*, his tall, benign and Aryan figure was present before all, there could not have been any speculation about his "Dhammakāya, purified in every way and glorified by Śīla, Samādhi, etc.,—full of splendour and virtue, incomparable and fully awakened." But his death, *i.e.*, the Mahāparinibbāna decided the whole thing in favour of faith and adoration. So writes a western critic³ (*apropos* the matter):—"The primitive faith did not allow a personal deity and the Buddha was, in Nirvāṇa, outside the universe (Saṃsāra). Strictly speaking there were no prayers—for to whom could they be addressed? Meetings for any common rite were rare; there were a public confession every eight days and a great mutual confession at the end of the rainy season. Such a cult might satisfy a few ecstatic monks, but made no appeal to the common people—but the new religion, immediately after the Buddha's death, made concession to the people. They began with the public adoration of the relics of Gautama Himself and then of the other Buddhas. Afterwards came pilgrimages to spots which recalled his life and his works, and where commemorative monuments (stūpas) had been erected." Moreover, every Buddhist must recite the

¹ April and May.

² June and July.

³ Introduction to "The Gods of Northern Buddhism"

Trīṣaṛaṇa prayer—but after the Mahāparinibbāna, when a Buddhist devoutly uttered “I take refuge with the Buddha,”² what did he actually mean by it? As A. Coomāraswāmy very pertinently observes—“After his (the Buddha’s) death, what can the words ‘I take refuge with the Buddha’ have meant to a layman, or any but the most critical of the brethren? It did not mean the Buddha’s Gospel, for that is separately mentioned. This phrase alone must have operated with the subtle power of hypnotic suggestion to convince the worshipper that the Buddha still was, and that some relation could be established between the worshipper and Him-who-had-thus-attained. It was the growth of this conviction which determined the development of Buddhist iconolatry and all the mystical theology of the Mahāyāna. It is the element of worship which changed the monastic system of Gautama into a world religion.” Indeed, Saṃgha and Dhamma (of course propaganda did a great lot—we must always have to bear in mind) alone could never have conquered the world—it was Nirvāṇa, as represented by the Buddha, which shook the world to its foundation and brought half of humanity to the fold of the religion of the Tathāgata. “While the Brāhmaṇists teach that there exists a God, creator of all things (Īśvara) and that the circle of transmigration of the souls must be terminated by the virtue of offerings, sacrifices, and adoration of the gods, in the absorption of individual souls into the universal, primitive Buddhism is an atheistic religion, recognises neither creator nor organizer of the universe, neither personal nor universal souls, and admitting worship of deities as something secondary. The entire weight of its metaphysical edifice rests on a single basis—the idea of deliverance.”¹ It is this idea of deliverance, hunger for salvation—hankering after Nirvāṇa that changed the Enlightened one’s religion (which began as a religion of a coterie) into a world faith.

In the Majjhima Nikāya when Gautama said (or was supposed to say)—they are sure of heaven if they have love and faith

towards me—he uttered the most pregnant, the most prophetic sentence of his life, for Buddhism, after the Master's death, developed, not so much along the lines of rationalism and morality as along the lines of Faith and adoration. Now, the faithful phase of Buddhism goes by the name of “the path of the Greater Vehicle” (Mahāyāna)—for Mahāyānism is nothing but the faith—development of Buddhism—and this path of faith was most felicitously promulgated (of course, following in the footsteps of the Buddha) by Aśwaghōṣa in his monumental work, *The Awakening of Faith* (śraddhotpāda-śāstra). In it was preached the noble doctrine of Faith in its four aspects: “The faithful should believe in the fundamental truth (bhūta-tathatā); in the Dhamma; in the Saṃgha; but he must believe in the Buddha as sufficiently enveloping infinite merits, that is, he must rejoice in worshipping him, in paying homage to him, in making offerings to him, etc., etc.” Asaṅga, in his *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra*, carried on nobly this tradition of faith and the faith-cult of Buddhism reached its culmination in the *Sukhāvātī* doctrine of Japanese Buddhism. Writing of the marvellous “Hymn to the Bodhi-sattva” (with which Asaṅga ends his memorable work), Rene Grousset observes: “What do the metaphysical negations of the doctrine matter to us henceforth? Religious feeling at this pitch of intensity raised the soul above itself and truly transformed the initial idealism of Asaṅga and of Hsuan-tsang into an ardent mysticism. Whether this was intended or not, the Buddha-state here played the part of the Divine. Present in the hearts of all and common to all, it united all in an ineffable Communion.” So writes a western critic about Japanese Buddhism: “The *Sukhāvātī* doctrine¹ of the Shin sect may be called the mysticism of exclusive adoration. In this School, the Absolute Buddha is symbolized as Amitābha (the Buddha of infinite light) and as such is the object of fervent devotion. Enlightenment or Nirvāṇa or Buddhahood is symbolised by the Paradise *Sukhāvātī* (Jodo) of Amitābha. Rebirth in this paradise

is to be gained by self-forgetting adoration of the supreme." In his Prajñā-pāramitā-śāstra, Nāgārjuna has said : — " If one hears even the name of the Buddha of the holy land, he would obtain salvation." So Buddhism adopted Nāma-vāda even. Paul Carus thus characterises the Buddha Amitābha : " Now I understand the picture of the Lord Buddha with his two attendants, Love as particularity on the elephant and Wisdom as universality on the lion....." The Prince who left his home and his near and dear ones and his patrimony behind in order that the sorrow-laden humanity might be relieved of the crushing burden of sorrow, ended his wonderful, un-heard-of Career (in the fitness of things) as the God of Nirvāṇa or salvation or deliverance from the Duha of birth and death. The moralism, the rationalism of the Buddha could never have conquered the hard hearts of men and women (all the world over) immersed in worldly and ungainly pursuits,—but the promise of deliverance, the lure of salvation, the bliss of Nirvāṇa, in short, the deification of Gautama overcame all difficulties and made the religion of the Tathāgata triumphant from the shores of the Pacific Ocean to the sands of the Mediterranean Sea.....Standing before Him (the Lord Buddha, the God of the Bhakti cult) in silent and deep adoration, shall we not lovingly repeat the ecstatic prayer of Aśaṅga

'Sarvalokam.....pratyavekṣase
Mahākaruṇayā.....namo'stu te'

(Night and day Thou watchest over the world. Thou art given over to the great compassion. Thou seekest only salvation. Homage to thee.) and say, in broken voice, unto Him 'tu es le libérateur de tous les êtres,' for we surely feel towards Him 'une effusion qui ressemble aux transports de l'amour.' Indeed, as we strain our ears and try to catch the final message of Buddhism, the blessed message is wafted to us, across the barrier of centuries, not in metaphysical abstruseness or moral censoriousness, but in the ecstasy of love, devotion and adoration. 'Voices raised in prayer from the deep of

the past' assail us on all sides—'Voices of our brothers—poor human voices'.....'

(2)

From the Yajña-cult to the cult of worship and adoration ; from Aśwamedha to Amitābha, it was indeed a far, far cry, yet the religion of the Indo-Aryans developed along this line. From Karma to Bhakti—that was the path of the religious evolution of Aryan India. Yajña—Ātman—Buddhism (rationalistic and moralistic) and Amitābha . . . this chain of sequence explains the growth and the evolution of the religious consciousness of the Aryan Indians. That is to say, we can explain the emergence of the Bhakti cult, in Aryan India, without having to take into account any extraneous or foreign influence or influences. *But an insurmountable difficulty confronts us here ;* on this supposition, the Aryans of India (each and everyone of them) ought to have been the worshippers of the Lord Buddha, whereas actually we find that the Buddhists are numerically the smallest religious community of India of to-day and the followers of Śiva and Viṣṇu count themselves by millions. "How came that widow in ? widow Dido ?" ¹ How did Śiva (or Viṣṇu) come in and snatch the palm of victory from the hands of Buddhism (Bhaktism) ?

We shall have to begin with many a surmise in attempting a historical answer to this query. Either all the Gods of the Hindu Bhakti cult were post-Buddhistic and were conceived à la Buddha (the God of the Bhakti cult) and modelled upon Him or the Gods of the Hindu Bhakti cult (some or all) were anterior to the Buddha (the God of the Bhakti cult) and Buddhism (primitive rationalistic and ethical Buddhism) coming in contact with these faith-cults, was itself forcibly converted into a religion of adoration. In other words, either Buddhism was a revolt, not only against Vedic Karma-cult but also against non-Vedic or neo-Vedic Bhakti cult or Buddhism first

brought into existence the cult of Bhakti. That is to say, either Śaivism (*i.e.*, the Hindu Bhakti-cult) was already an established religion and Buddhism, coming into its contact, ceased to be a merely rational religion and became a religion of the Bhakti cult or Śiva was just waiting in the anteroom to be admitted into the public stage of Aryan worship—the Buddhistic challenge hastened the recognition of Śiva. The Buddhists, it might be, responded to Śaivism (Bhakti-cult) to spite the Vedic Karma-cult but they were paid back in their own coin when Śaivism was accepted by the Vedist also.

So it is clear why the history of Śaivism (*i.e.*, of the Hindu Bhakti-cult) should be investigated into, otherwise there could not be any rational solution of the tangled problem—the emergence of the Bhakti-cult in Aryan India. But the difficulty is this that there was not only rivalry between Śiva and Amitābha but between Śiva and Viṣṇu also. Not only the Hindu Gods fought with the Gods of Buddhism—but they also fought among themselves.¹ So the history of Bhaktism in India is a history of many distractions, digressions and side-issues, it is the history of influences and counter-influences—of continual give and take, of action and reaction—for, truth to say, the growth and evolution of Bhaktism in India has never followed the path of a geometric straight line. In Buddhism there must have been some elements of Śaivism; in Śaivism there must have been some elements of

¹ There are four Gods and one Goddess who figure in the pantheon of the Hindu Bhakti cult. Of these, two (Sūrya and Gaṇapati) are not popular Gods whereas Śiva, Śakti and Viṣṇu count their votaries by millions. Of the three popular deities of the Hindu Faith-cult, Śiva and Śakti are inter allied whereas Viṣṇu is a distinct God—though some sort of marriage-relationship has been established between Śiva and Viṣṇu. Now, the henotheistic Gods of the Holy Vedas were never mutually exclusive—they were republican; but the Gods of the Bhakti cult (all the world over) have this characteristic failing—they are always jealous of one another—never caring to share their pre-eminence with other Gods. Moreover, the Trinitarian compromise was arrived at much later and Hopkins is right when he observes that the "Union of the three highest Gods into a trinity forms no part of epic belief Both Viṣṇu and Śiva are recognised as chief Gods; both eventually represent God." So what wonder if there was a rivalry between Śiva and Viṣṇu—the two most popular Gods—the two "Bṛhat Devatās" (diḡ Majores) of the Hindu Bhakti-cult.

Buddhism. (The Trisūla of Buddhism was appropriated by Saivism and the Satarudriya of the White Yajur Veda (let us hazard a speculation) might have unconsciously influenced Asaṅga's Hymn to the Bodhisattwa). Moreover, Mohenjo-Daro¹ and other sites have proved how the cults of the present-day Bhaktism were rooted in the pre-historic past, which fact has surely widened the scope of investigation ad infinitum. Unfortunately, there are no sure guides (book of reference, chronology, etc.) to lead despairing people out of the mist of doubt into the light of certitude. Really it is a vexed and a vast problem to face—the problem of the emergence of the Bhakti-cult in India. So we shall confine our attention to what seem to us to be the two most important aspects of the question:—(1) how and why Buddhism was supplanted by the popular Hindu Bhakti-cults and (2) why, without taking into account the Doctrine of Nirvāṇa, we can never explain Bhaktism and the God of the Bhakti-cult in India.

Pre-historic Śiva.—If Sir John Marshall's surmise is historically tenable, Śiva Maheśwara is, indeed, one of the oldest of human Gods, if not the most primitive God of humanity—for, if Śiva was really worshipped at Mohenjo-Daro as He is worshipped to-day at Benares, His record is the longest one—the most triumphant one in the whole history of human civilisation and culture. His rivals—the Gods of Sumer and Akkad, of Egypt and Crete, of Assyria and Babylonia—have long since been forgotten; they are no longer worshipped; but Śiva is still the God of Gods and claims the allegiance of millions of His votaries in this ancient land of the Aryans. Indeed, the cult of Śiva is a marvel of marvels (if Sir John's interpretation is to be accepted)—the cult that satisfied the spiritual needs of the citizens of Mohenjo-Daro and the cult that ministers to the spiritual needs of innumerable millions of men and women of India of to-day. For over

¹ Side by side with Earth or Mother Goddess there appears at Mohenjo-Daro a male God, who is recognizable at once as a prototype of the historic Śiva.—*Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation.*

fifty centuries a living faith—this is a record for any religion of the world. Explorers are yet to discover a river that has travelled over 5,000 miles of space : the cult of Śiva has existed for over 5,000 years of Man's history but shows as yet no signs of decay and decline. Indeed, the cult of Śiva is memorable not only for its very remote beginnings but for its wonderful vitality and still more wonderful promise of life. It is not as yet a spent force, for Śaivism is not a relic of ancient times—an object of curiosity in the Museums of the world. Be that as it may, the history of the cult of Śiva, in its different phases, is the history of Indian civilisation (in its entirety) ; for it comprises, within its mighty scope, the history of the Sumerians, the history of the Non-Aryans, the history of the Aryans and the history of the Indians that arose out of the commingling of these different races. But one thing should be remembered more than anything else—Śiva is a living link between us and those city-builders (citizens of Mohenjo-Daro, for example) who were the purveyors of Sumerian civilization in India.

Non-Aryan Śiva.—From Mohenjo-Daro to the environs of a Vedic village, it is, indeed, a long leap over time and space. But, after Mohenjo-Daro, we find Śiva (or His historical prototype) loitering about a Vedic village,¹ not yet recognised by the Vedists, not yet raised to the dignity of the supreme God. He is, on the other hand, the God of the tribes, workmen, potters, cart-makers, carpenters, Niṣādas, forest-tribes, etc. In short, He was the God of the Sūdras, who were in the Aryan society but not of it and of those people who had not as yet

¹ Purposely I have omitted all reference to Dravidian traditions in the religious history of India. Learned writers have derived the word " Śiva " from Dravidian " Śivan " ; and philologers of repute have shown similarity between Rudhra (Dravidian) and Rudra (Vedic). Moreover it must be admitted that the cult of Mother-Goddess was undoubtedly Dravidian—even pre-Dravidian. But, as my purpose here has been to prove how the Non-Aryan Śiva became Aryan India's supreme God—i.e., the Brāhmanisation of Śiva—I thought that to drag in all these discussion about the Dravidian elements in our religion would be really side-tracking the whole issue. Needless it is for me to say that from Mohenjo-Daro to Benares, Śiva had to pass through many phases and undergo many transformations,

got a foothold, however precarious, in the Aryan society. Siva was, thus, the God of the Sūdras and the still unreclaimed original inhabitants of India. Now, it might be that the Sūdras were the more peaceful and civilised elements of the Non-Aryan society so they readily submitted to the Aryan yoke and were absorbed by the Aryan society. On this supposition it may reasonably be conjectured that the Sūdras were somehow connected with those Sumerian people or others who first planted (so far as we know) the tree of civilisation in Indian soil. If this be a valid conjecture, then the cult of the Mohenjo-Daro God was still being carried into practice, however ignobly, by the Sūdras (who were in the Aryan society) and the forest-tribes, etc., who, being more warlike, were not at all willing to submit to Aryan yoke and supremacy. Thus, the cult of the pre-historic Siva was kept alive by the Siva-worshipping Non-Aryans of ancient India.

Now, the Vedists had a God, called Rudra (mentioned in the Holy R̥gveda) who was rather a terrible and uncouth God. The Śatarudrīya calls Him the lord of the paths, of the forests, of those who roam in them, of the robbers and outcastes, Niṣādas, etc. In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, He is elevated to a higher platform but the darker side of the nature of the God was never forgotten. (We may mention here the Sūlagava ceremony wherein a bull was sacrificed beyond the limits of the village—its remains not allowed to be brought into the village.) In the time of Gṛhya Sūtras, Rudra was still a terrible God. In the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, however, the concept of Siva was that of the Brahman itself. Thus may be set forth, in brief outline, the historical evolution of the God Rudra in Vedic literature and tradition.

As a creeper clings to the tree of support and thus ensures its rich and luxuriant growth for ever, so the non-Aryan Siva-cult ensured its deathless future when it could entwine itself round the tree of the Vedic Rudra-cult. In other words, the God Rudra made the "Sūdra" God immortal for ever. But

the question is—how this alliance (between the Rudra God and the “ Sūdra ” God) was brought about ? I think Prof. Kimura answered the question most logically (*Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna and the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism*) when he said that the Vrātyas (out-landic Aryans) were really responsible for this culmination. The Aryan settlers were hemmed in on all sides by the non-Aryan inhabitants of India—so there must have been considerable give and take between the conquering Aryans and the conquered non-Aryans. The Aryans who lived on the frontiers, far away from the centre of Aryan culture, must have been particularly prone to non-Aryan influence,—so a section of the Aryan people were gradually Indianised by coming in constant contact with the original settlers of India. Moreover the cult of Yajña (in its ritualistic aspect) is, after all, a strenuous practice so what wonder if the “ out-landic ” Aryans fell away gradually from the path of Yajña and came to look upon primitive Bhaktism (as represented by the pre-historic Śiva-cult) with increasing favour. Anyhow the frontier Aryans were looked upon as non-Aryanised Aryans, otherwise there would have been no meaning in singling out Brahmāvarta and Brahmarṣi-deśa as Aryan land *par excellence*. Nor would Agni Vaiśvānara have been afraid to cross the Sadānirā, if the triumphant progress of Agni would not have been checked by the prospect of vile contagion with the non-Aryan people. Indeed, it is through the “ out-landic ” Aryans that non-Aryanism first made its inroad on Aryan culture and religion.

Now, when Non-Aryanism (backed by Bhaktism) was nibbling at Aryan influence and culture and was daily gaining ground, came the Buddhistic challenge with its irresistible call to renunciation through piety. It was an accidental conjuncture of events but it powerfully affected the situation, bringing about far-reaching changes, the consequences of which we are feeling even to-day. The Buddhistic challenge did two things (primarily) :—(1) it hastened the recognition of Śiva by the whilom Yajña-performing Aryans. In other words, the conflict between

the Non-Aryan Bhaktism (which had already influenced the "out-landic" Aryans) and Aryan Karma-cult could never have been decided in favour of Non-Aryan Bhaktism but for the tremendous support lent to it by the Buddhistic Bhaktivāda. That is to say, Śiva (Bhaktism) would never have been accepted by the Yajña-performing Aryans but for the menace of proselytising Buddhism, which depended (more and more) not so much upon rationalism and moralism but upon the cult of Bhakti.

(2) Secondly, by propounding the theory of Nirvāṇa, Buddhism virtually brought into existence the Bhakti-God—for the most essential characteristic (the *Sine qua non*) of the Bhakti-God is His capacity to grant salvation and this salvational theory of the Bhakti-God is, after all, an essentially Buddhistic conception and contribution. We do not know in what way the Mohenjo-Daro people prayed to the primitive Śiva, nor do we know how the Niśādas, carpenters, forest-tribes, etc., adored their God, but to maintain that they (worshippers of the primitive Śiva, *i.e.*, Niśādas, etc.) also looked upon Samsāra as duḥa, they also pined for Nirvāṇa and pressed their God for it would be writing a long draft, indeed, on historical credulity. Let us take for granted that only the Buddhists prayed to their God for salvation, for they could not pray for anything else—fame, riches, knowledge, etc. So, without the Buddha (the God of the Bhakti-cult), Śiva (or any other God) could never have been a full-fledged Bhakti-God. Śiva, the rival of the Buddha, became a true Bhakti-God only when His votaries felt sure that Śiva could give them salvation or Nirvāṇa as the Buddha gave it to His votaries.

Now, bearing in mind the theory of Nirvāṇa and its inevitable culmination, the emergence of the Bhakti-God, let us review, in brief outline, the Upaniṣadic doctrine of Mokṣa. So writes Monsieur Barth (*a propos* the matter): "As the state of separation and ignorance is for the soul a fallen state, so the cessation of that state, the return to unity, is salvation. As soon as the soul has acquired the perfect immediate certainty that it is

not different from the supreme Ātman, it no longer experiences doubts or desires.....This will be the final deliverance (mokṣa), the complete and final absorption into the One only being'' (page 78-9 *The Religions of India*). The Upaniṣadic doctrine of Mokṣa, so similar to the doctrine of Buddhistic Nirvāṇa, could not, however, give birth to a popular religion on account of two fatal drawbacks :—(1) Of the sages who propounded the Upaniṣadic theory of Ātman, no one could say (like the Buddha) that he (and no other) had thought out the theory of Ātman, that he was, at the end of life, going to be Ātman and all men and women were to follow in his foot-steps (observing such and such practices and thinking such and such thoughts, etc.) to be Ātman. If only there were a central figure, like the Buddha, the promulgator and the originator of the path (Mārga), the Upaniṣadic doctrine of Mokṣa would surely have ended in a popular religion. Lord Kṛṣṇa, in the Gītā, attempted to fill this role but He could not be the Buddha's rival on account of His obvious indebtedness to the Upaniṣadic system of thought. In other words, Lord Kṛṣṇa, in the Gītā, carried on the tradition of the Upaniṣadic system of thought, whereas Abhidharma or the philosophy of Buddhism was the Buddha's own philosophy of life. That is to say, Lord Kṛṣṇa had to rely upon the Upaniṣad for His philosophy whereas the Buddha had thought out his own philosophy Himself. So Lord Kṛṣṇa was rather at a disadvantage as compared with the Buddha as the originator and promulgator of the path (Mārga). Moreover, the Gītā lays an emphasis not so much on Bhakti as knowledge and action, so Lord Kṛṣṇa remained rather a Jñāna-Karma-devatā than became a full-fledged Bhakti-God. Besides, the Upaniṣadic teaching was clannish (restricted to one's Gōtra or Śākhā) whereas the Buddhistic teaching was sectarian (open to all Buddhists)—therefore Buddhistic lore was better preserved and preached—so Buddhism as a Bhakti-cult, could so much develop. 2 On account of the absence of the central figure (the originator and the promulgator of the path), Ātmanism gave no scope for adoration and faith.

The Buddha could be worshipped by the Buddhists but the sages of the Upaniṣads could be at best respected—they could not hope to command adoration and worship from their pupils and followers. So Ātmanism did not develop along the path of Bhakti. Buddhism started as a rational religion but ended as a cult of faith whereas Ātmanism started as rationalistic intuitionism and remained as such throughout its whole career.

However that be, now it is clear that Śaivism became really a Bhakti-cult by being modelled upon Buddhism—but here a question may be asked why did not the Buddha (the God of the Bhakti-cult) suffice for the Aryan people, seeing that they ultimately became the followers of the Bhakti-Gods (though, at the outset, they were inimical to Bhaktism)? The reply to this query may be given in a very categorical manner. Not only primitive Buddhism (rational and ethical) was inimical to Brāhmanism but the neo-Buddhism (Buddhism of the Bhakti-cult) was also decidedly anti-Brāhmanical. In other words, the Buddha did not allow Himself to be Brahmanised (on account of the schismatical tendencies of His followers, though Jayadeva very complacently sang of Him as one of the incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu) whereas Śiva did allow Himself to be Brāhmanised—so Śiva was victorious in the historic duel with His great rival. We are just now going to relate the story of the Brāhmanisation of Śiva but it must be remembered that it is this Brāhmanisation and nothing else that made the pre-Aryan and the non-Aryan Śiva, Aryan India's supreme God (Maheśwara).

SIVA—MAHEŚWARA.

The Vedists believed that Prajāpati, before all ages, was seized with the desire for creation and this desire for creation led Him to the path of creation. The Buddha (to whom creation was meaningless and worthless as it was, according to Him, nothing but misery and sorrow) condemned creation and its root-cause desire (Tanhā)—most emphatically. The condemnation of desire and the subsequent conquest over it brought to the Buddha the supreme realisation of life—the attainment of Nirvāṇa. As the Buddha preached the doctrine of Nirvāṇa throughout his life, as the path that he pointed out to suffering humanity was the path of Nirvāṇa and as the Buddha himself attained to Nirvāṇa, the Buddha, after his Parinibbāna, was looked upon by the people, not so much as the Buddha (who had attained to Nirvāṇa) but as Nirvāṇa Himself. Thus, a very subtle and strange metamorphosis took place, and the historical Buddha (the son of Suddhodana) came gradually to be identified with Nirvāṇa or wishless Prajāpati. But the theomorphic process did not stop here; the followers of the Buddha who were not subtle enough to understand the mysteries of Nirvāṇa (as a doctrine) and who were not strong enough, lacking the giant self-control of the Buddha (the Nirvāṇa-preacher) to resist the many temptations of life, looked upon—why shall I say looked upon—leaned upon the Buddha as the very prop and main stay of their lives. Thus it is that the most important of the Buddhist articles of faith is—*Buddham śaraṇaṁ gacchāmi* (I take refuge with the Buddha) without subscribing to which no one can be a Buddhist. Now, apart from all these considerations, their very regard for the Buddha made him the idol (the object of worship) to his followers. So the Nirvāṇa-preaching, the Nirvāṇa-attaining, the adored Buddha became the first (if the Jaina Mahāvīra were not the first, *vide* H. Jacobi's Introduction to the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*) God of the Bhakti-cult. (There might

have been Non-Aryan gods and goddesses of a sort of Bhakti-cult—but with them we have nothing to do here.) It was a peculiar nemesis—for he who showed the path of revolt against the popular deities of the Vedic ritualism, himself became a popular God in the long run. The lure of Nirvāṇa (freedom from the bondage of being and becoming) was a mighty one and thousands of men and women forsook their all to tread in the desire-conquering path of the Lion of the Śākya. Thus Nirvāṇa became the chief point of attraction in the religion of the Buddha and the Buddhists. Yet there was a marked difference in the viewpoint of the immediate disciples of the Buddha and the later converts to the faith; for, whereas the contemporaries of the Buddha elected to attain to Nirvāṇa through Vinaya and Śīla Regulations—through wisdom and immaculate purity, the Buddhists of the after ages relied more and more upon adoration and the Lord's benignity and grace than upon their personal exertions. In other words, Buddhism began as a rational religion (the religion of the Jñāna-mārga) but ended as a religion of adoration and faith—that is to say, a religion of the Bhakti-cult. Be that as it may, the Buddhistic bias (that of attaining to Nirvāṇa through faith and adoration) has coloured all the later religions of India and the world, so much so that it would be no exaggeration to observe that the attainment of Nirvāṇa is the main plank of all the Bhakti (Faith)-cults of the world and Nirvāṇa-hood (giver-of-salvation-hood) is the invariable and essential the very *sine qua non* attribute of the God of the Bhakti-cult.

Now, when Buddhism attained to this apotheosis (*i.e.*, became a religion of faith) it had, for its serious rival in the Aryan world, the religion of sacrifice—the Yajña-religion of the Vedists. But unfortunately the religion of the Vedists was in a state of submergence owing to the incessant attacks made upon it by all the philosophical systems of the then India. The Ātman-philosophy of the Upaniṣads, the commonsense-philosophy of the Lokāyatikas, the Nirvāṇa philosophy of the Jainas

and the Buddhists—all were emphatic in condemning (as futile and inutile) the Karma-religion of the Vedists. It will be quite out of place here to try to enumerate the reasons which prompted the interpreters of these different philosophies to condemn the cult of Yajña but that they so condemned is as self-evident as two and two making four. Indeed, these philosophical systems differed from each other as light does from shade, but in one thing they all agreed—they condemned the sacrificial religion of the Vedists with complete unanimity. But no amount of mere philosophical opposition (that is to say, free-thinking) can totally undermine a well-founded religion—and the virile religion of Yajña would not have lost ground on account of these philosophical attacks, however persistently carried out. But a new phenomenon—I mean, the emergence of the Bhakti-cult—change the situation completely and the great Karma-religion of the Vedists fell on evil days and evil tongues from which position of disfavour and contumely it could not wholly extricate itself. Indeed, the fanatic zeal of the neophytes carried the day and the old religion of the Vedists lost credit with the people till a time came when it became a tissue of meaningless and lifeless formalisms and rites and thus disappeared (in discomfiture and disgrace) from off the face of the earth. So we see, Buddhism (also Jainism) as a Bhakti-cult dealt the death-blow to the Karma-religion of the Vedists.

Life is resilient and elastic—so a successful and ever-ready adaptation to the changing circumstances (of life) is the best definition of life. The Hindus, of those days, were not as yet a dead or a decadent people ; so they, confronted with the greatest crisis in their religious life, triumphantly adapted themselves to the changed circumstances and thus proved their race-vitality in a really wonderful manner. They were forced to give up the Karma-religion of the Vedists (*i.e.*, of their forefathers) but they formulated a God who was destined one day to beat Buddhism hollow and banish it from the land of birth of the Buddha. This new God, the great God of the Hindus, was Siva Maheśwara,

and with the inauguration of His cult began the second period of Hindu greatness—the period of Paurāṇik or classical culture and civilisation of the Hindus.

The God Rudra is hymned in the Vedas, but between Him (the Vedic Rudra) and the Rudra of the Paurāṇik age, there is a difference, not only of degree but of kind, for, whereas the Vedic Rudra is a henotheistic God, the Paurāṇik Rudra is a theistic one—He is, in short, the God of the Bhakti-cult. I have already explained in the “Introduction” why the Aryans in their dire need (confronted with the Buddhistic Bhakti-cult which threatened to carry everything before it) turned to the Vedic Rudra to become their champion God and how the creed of the Vedic Rudra (reinforced by the cult of pre-Aryan and Non-Aryan Śiva) proved strong enough to stem in the advancing tides of Buddhistic Bhaktivāda. In other words, I have proved or tried to prove that Śiva was a God of the Hindu Bhakti-cult. Now, it should be our business here to clearly set forth the attributes of this Bhakti-God of the Hindus.

The God of the Bhakti-cult as Nirvāṇa.

(a) The most important characteristic the *sine quā non* of the God of the Bhakti-cult is (as already stated) His capacity of granting “Salvation” to his votaries. He must be the God of Salvation, *i. e.*, the God of Nirvāṇa. In the Śiva-Purāṇa, Himavān thus addresses Gaurī :—

Ihāmutra-phalārthañca tam pūjaya Samāhita
(Śiva Purāṇa, Uttara Khanda, 13th Chapter.)

(For the happiness in this world and the next, worship Him with undivided attention). So it is clear that Śiva is the God of the day of the Last Judgment ; for, the very fact that Śiva is being propitiated for the sake of other-worldly felicity proves, beyond doubt, that Śiva is a Nirvāṇa-God (so far as His votaries are concerned)—that is to say, He is the God of the Bhakti-cult.

(b) If Vyāsa was the greatest post-Vedic exponent of the Jñāna-mārga (the path of knowledge), Nārada was the greatest exponent of the Bhakti-cult in our sacred literature. Not that Nārada was not a great thinker, for his wonderful dialogue with Sanatkumāra in the Chhāndogya Upaniṣad would place him conspicuously among the immortal thinkers of our cultural past. But the halo that encircled his head is not so much the halo of sapience as that of faith and adoration, so much so that the term "Nārada" has come to be synonymous with Bhaktism in our sacred literature. Now, this Nārada¹ (Bhaktism) is most intimately connected with the Śiva-cult. Of course, Nārada is associated with the Viṣṇu-cult also, but with Śiva Nārada's relationship seems to be most intimate. This intimacy proves (or tends to prove) the fact that Śiva-Maheśwara was a God of the Bhakti-cult.

(c) There are many Gods of the Hindu Bhakti-cult, for example, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Gaṇapati, Śakti, etc., but no one of these Gods overt comes in overt conflict with Kāma or Madana whereas Śiva reduces Madana to ashes. (Indrādi-sakala devāstāvāt bhaṣmīcakāra tam—when all the Gods with Indra were crying, he reduced Kāma to ashes.—Śiva Purāṇa, 14th Chapter.)

Now, by reducing Madana to ashes Śiva conquers, nay, annihilates, as it were, desire and shows His fitness (taking the cue from the Buddhists) to enter into the state of Nirvāṇa and as such His capacity to lead His votaries to Nirvāṇa also. He (Lord Śiva) becomes Nirvāṇa as the Buddha has already become Nirvāṇa by defeating Māra. Thus we find that Śiva was modelled upon the Buddha to some extent and the fatal conflict with Kāma or Māra placed both the Buddha and Śiva in the same category.

¹ The importance of Nārada, in the history of the Hindu Bhakti-cult, can be demonstrated by the following historical fact. Nārada cursed his own father in the following way :—Apūjyō bhava duṣṭa tvam, etc. (Be you unworshipped, O you evil one)—Nārada Pañcarātra, 10th Chapter. So Brahmā is not a popular deity of the Hindu Bhakti-cult of to-day. That is to say, He to whom Nārada will not lend his countenance would not be worshipped by the Hindu public as a Bhakti-God; but those to whom he would lend his support would be so worshipped, for example, Śiva, Śakti, Viṣṇu.

Now, we may raise another issue here—why had Śiva at all to come in conflict with Māra? The most logical answer would be because He was conceived by the Vedists only after the Buddhistic revolt (and in rivalry with it) and as such He had to demonstrate His capacity to grant salvation as the Buddha had already done by conquering Māra and thus attaining to Nirvāṇa. Thus we see that Lord Śiva was forced to be an other-worldly God by the exigencies of historical circumstances. Moreover, the fact that He alone of the Hindu Gods of the Bhakti-cult had to fight with Māra really proves that He was the first God of the Hindu Bhakti-cult. Thus Śiva was not only the Hindu equivalent of the Buddhistic Nirvāṇa; He was also the rival of the Buddha as a Faith-God (the God of the Bhakti-cult). In these circumstances, we may go to the length of saying that Śaṅkara defeated Buddhism not with his commentary on the Vedānta Sūtra but by his insistent preaching of the cult of Śiva, as the God of Bhaktism.

The God of the Bhakti-cult as Prajāpati.

When the Śiva-cult was gaining ground step by step in the Indian Aryan world, it did so not only at the expense of the Buddhistic and Jaina Bhakti-cults but also at the cost of the older religion of the Vedists, the great religion of the Karma-cult. Now Yajña and Bhakti cannot go together; Yajña is centrifugal, Bhakti is centripetal; Yajña is self-assertion, Bhakti is self-surrender; Yajña is this-worldly while Bhakti is other-worldly—but in the end Bhakti was victorious on account of the Buddhistic and Jaina religious examples and practices. But it would be silly of us to think that the upholders of the Karma-cult submitted to the new religion without a tough and a bitter struggle. The history of this struggle may be unearthed or reconstructed from one of the nebulous legends of our Aryan past—the legend of Dakṣa Prajāpati. Dakṣa Prajāpati is mentioned in many Maṇḍalas of the Holy Ṛgveda. In the Holy Ṛgveda, He is

intimately connected with Aditi and in the tenth Maṇḍala, it is explicitly stated that the sons of Aditi are all Devas and they are Bhadra and Amṛta bandhavas. So it goes without saying that Dakṣa Prajāpati was one of the typical representatives of the Karma-cult of the Vedists. When the Vedic Rudra was being theomorphically changed into Śiva, the propagandists of the Bhakti-cult thought it wise to arrive at a compromise with the upholders of the Karma-cult (to avoid bitter opposition); and the best way of doing that was to show respect to the Vedic conception of the Supreme God—Prajāpati. In other words, if the God of the Bhakti-cult could be looked upon as Prajāpati, then the two irreconcilables would be reconciled and the strife between the Bhakti and Karma-cults would come to an end. (It may be noted here that Buddhism did not set up a Prajāpati-God, for them the Nirvāṇa-God was more than sufficient.) So Lord Śiva was converted into Prajāpati in order that he might be more acceptable to the upholders of the Karma-cult. But the question is—how was that accomplished? The answer to this query would involve a long discussion which I append here below.

In Vedic literature, we find there are three distinct conceptions of Prajāpati :—

(a) Prajāpati desired “I shall be many” and He became many.

(So’ kāmāyata bahu syām prajāyeya iti.—Taittiriya Upaniṣad.)

(b) Prajāpati thought He was many and He was many.

(Sa īkṣata lōkan nu sṛjā iti.—Ait. Upaniṣad.)

(c) Prajāpati bifurcated Himself into two (male and female) and thus He became many. (Sa vai naiva reme...Sa imamevātmanāṁ dvedhāpātayat tataḥ patiśca patnī cābhavatām...—Bṛhad-āranyaka Upaniṣad.)

When the cult of Śiva as the Bhakti-God was gaining ground, the third conception of Prajāpati (Prajāpati, creating

par sexual mode) has already been widely accepted. So Śiva, in order to be Prajāpati, had to enter into wedlock. He could not very well be Prajāpati by simply desiring to create. In these circumstances, it was wise, on the part of the propagandists of the Śiva-cult, to try to unite Him in marriage with the daughter of Dakṣa Prajāpati. Then Śiva would be a *bona-fide* Vedic God and there would not be any reasonable difficulty, on any one's part, to accept Him as the God of Gods (Maheśvara). But the marriage did not take place without a big hitch because Dakṣa (as the typical upholder of the Vedic cult) looked upon the new God (Śiva) with extreme disfavour. Indeed, in the assembly of the Gods, Śiva did not shine at all; rather he cut a very sorry figure; He was completely out of His elements in it. And there is nothing to wonder at; for, whereas the other Gods were of the Svarga-type,¹ i.e., they were of immortal youth, they were proud, victorious—born to enjoy and command. Śiva was alone of the Nirvāṇa-type. He was clad in tatters, He was given to meditation, His followers were uncouth, etc. (just like Buddhist Bhikkus). So Śiva was held up to ridicule on account of the fact that He was the God of the Bhakti-cult. Indeed, Śiva was more of the non-Vedic than of the Vedic type and as such was looked down upon by the Vedic assembly of Gods. However,

¹ Ime ca puruṣavyāghrā ye tiṣṭhantyaabhito ratham
 Sataṁ śataṁ Kuṇḍalino yuvānaḥ Khadga-pāṇayaḥ
 Vistīrṇavipuloraskāḥ parighāyatabāhavaḥ
 Śoṇāmsūvasanāḥ sarve vyāghrā iva durasadāḥ
 Urodeśeṣu sarveśāṁ hīrā jvalana-sannibhāḥ
 Rūpaṁ bibhrati saumitre pañca viṁśativārsikam
 Etaddhi kila devānāṁ vayoḽbhavati nityadā
 Yatheme puruṣavyāghrāḥ drśyante priyadarśanāḥ.

Around the chariot are seen youthful beings, wearing Kuṇḍalas (ear-rings), bearing arms in this hands, hundreds in number, with their chests well-developed and wide and their arms, long like a mace; they are veritable shining examples of masculinity and prowess. Adorning their breasts are necklaces, brilliant like fire. Oh Saumitri, they all look like twenty five years old. As do these lions of men shine in splendour, so do the Gods, who are eternally twenty-five years old.

the marriage took place, though Dakṣa made it abundantly clear that He was quite unwilling to bestow His daughter on Śiva. The union, though happy for the united pair, was not so for the rest of the Vedic world. So ultimately the whole thing ended in disaster—in the death of Satī (the new Aditi, the mother of a new race of Gods, for example Kumāra, Gaṇapati, etc.) and in the complete overthrow of the ceremony of yajña (as represented by Dakṣa) which act of overthrowal might be looked upon as the symbolic termination of the Vedic age and the inauguration of the Paurāṇik age in our culture. But the dying Karma-cult achieved a notable victory just before its death—it imposed upon the new God of the Bhakti-cult a great discipline—creation through sacrifice. I shall remind my readers of the ancient Vedic story of creation—how Prajāpati manifested Himself as Virāṭ and how by sacrificing Virāṭ on the altar of creation, He became the creator. Now what Virāṭ was to Prajāpati, Satī was to Lord Śiva, so Śiva had to sacrifice Satī on the altar of creation, otherwise He (Śiva) could never have been the real Prajāpati, particularly in the eyes of the Vedists. Indeed, simply by marrying Satī, Śiva could not have been Prajāpati ; so Satī had to die in order to make Her consort Prajāpati in the true sense of the term. So it will be no exaggeration to observe that when the dead body of Satī was being cut to pieces and scattered all over India, the cult of Śiva was taking firm root in this ancient land of the Bharatas—from the “ height of Caucasus ” (the Himālayās) “to the end of the golden Chersonese” (the farthest point of peninsular India)—for there could not any longer be any conscientious opposition to Him who had sacrificed His “dearest partner of greatness”—His Virāt—on the altar of creation—.....Thus the Karma-cult disappeared from the world—but only to live for ever in the cult of Bhakti—for Śiva was no longer a mere Nirvāṇa (Buddhistic or Jaina)-God but He was the old Prajāpati in a new shape—the self-same Prajāpati who created the world, before all ages, by sacrificing Himself on the altar of creation. Thus

Siva, the God of the Bhakti-cult, became the creator or Prajāpati.

The God of the Bhakti-cult as Ātman.

Now, when the deadly duel was going on between the old Karma-cult and the newly-risen Bhakti-cult, the upholders of Jñāna-cult were biding their time in sullen discontent, neither siding with the Śaivas nor siding with the Yājñikas. But the propagandists of the Bhakti-cult found it necessary to placate them also, otherwise the cult of Bhakti could not be universal and all-embracing. So they (the Bhakti-propagandists) conceded to the Jñāna-mārgins that the God of the Bhakti-cult was not merely Nirvāṇa and Prajāpati but Ātman also. Then, indeed the God of the Bhakti-cult really became irresistible and all India (nay all the world) lay prostrate at his divine feet. Be that as it may, we shall now try to show how Śiva was looked upon (by his votaries) as Ātman, the ultimate reality, the changeless amidst the multiform changes of the universe.

(a) In the “*Sarva-siddhānta-saṃgraha*” of Śaṅkarācārya, we come across the following Jaina Sūtra :—

Ātmāvaraṇa dehasya vastrādyāvaraṇāntaram.

“In regard to the body, which itself an obstructive covering for the Ātman, there need not be any other covering such as cloth, etc., for if such (a covering) is admitted (to be required) then in regard to this also (another covering will have to be admitted) ; and there will thus result the logical fallacy of a “*regressus in infinitum*” (Raṅgācārya’s edition, p. 8, Chapter III).

Now, Śiva is popularly called “*Digambara*”—though no other God of the Bhakti-cult is so addressed. This proves that Śiva was looked upon as Ātman by His votaries.

(b) In olden times, two alternatives were placed before the Ante-vāsin (scholar)—either he entered into wedlock and became a

Gṛhapati ¹ (*vide* the Gṛhya Sūtras) or he became a Sannyāsin and dedicated his life in the quest of spiritual knowledge (*vide* the Dharma Sūtras). Śiva, though to be Prajāpati, had to enter into wedlock, was primarily regarded as a Sannyāsin—the God, *par excellence*, of wisdom (Jñāna-devatā) in rivalry, it might have been, with the Buddha (the wise). Thus, Śiva gave intense spiritual satisfaction to the thinkers of the Upaniṣad-school of thought. To them, Śiva typified the Puruṣam Mahāntam (the Great One) who lives on the other side of darkness—the darkness of ignorance and inertia. So the Sage of the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad could pray to him—Ajāta ityevam... You uncreate, unborn, thinking this... Śiva is a Yogin—as such He is characterised by “Sarvatra samadaritvam (equanimity or equipoise of soul everywhere) which is a clear attribute of Ātman. So Śiva was regarded (by His votaries) as the ultimate principle of the world.

(c) Lord Śiva is the God, most emphatically associated with Pralaya (universal destruction). Here also His Ātmanhood is proved by the logical method of difference. When creation, in *toto*, will disappear He will alone remain—So He is the ultimate, indestructible, everlasting Being in this Universe. Needless it is for me to multiply arguments any more—it is clear that Śiva was looked upon as Ātman by His votaries. Thus a most puissant God was ushered into existence by the theomorphic and

¹ Brahmachārī Gṛhastha Vānaprasthaḥ Parivrājaka iti—Bodhāyana-Dharma sūtra, 2nd Prāśna, 6th Chapter.

There are four types of men—Brahmachārī (scholar), Gṛhasthaḥ (householder) Vānaprasthaḥ (forest-dweller) and Parivrājakaḥ (itinerant mendicant) of whom Gṛhastha marries and settles down in life whereas the other three types do not marry but spend their lives in quest of knowledge. “Brahmachārī guruśūśrūṣyāmaraṇāt” (A Brahmachārī, desirous of learning, will live in the gurukula till his death). Now, as regards Gṛhasthaḥ or Gṛhapati, we learn from Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra that “Jāyāyā vā pāṇiṁ jighṛkṣan” (wishing to marry, a man should light the domestic fire).

Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra, Prathamah Prapathakah.

Moreover, Bodhāyana informs us that “Tatra cha Gṛhasthaḥ Vaidikaḥ.....netare” (only the Gṛhastha can perform the Vedic rites—not others).

speculative genius of the Hindus—Maheśwara Śiva, Śiva the great God—who was Prajāpati, Ātman and Nirvāṇa.

Now, before finishing, let us speak something, in deep and ecstatic adoration, about the iconology of this great God. Both Liṅgam and Yōni and the half-male and half-female-image are nothing but the graphic illustration of the creational theory of the Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad. They may appear vulgar to the uninitiated—to the ignoramuses—but to the initiated—to those who are truly wise—they symbolise one of the greatest spiritual truths of this world. Be that as it may—the image of this great God, in single relief, appears to us to be most sublime, to be most majestic. His matted locks remind us of the Greek Zeus ; His trident reminds us of the God Poseidon. Indeed, to a Greek, He would have been both Tonitruialis and the Trident-bearer ; and therefore He is fit to be the God of universal India—the mountain-crowned and the sea-girt India. The digit of the Moon that he supports on His forehead reminds us that in Him is being carried unbroken the Vedic tradition of sacrifice. The garland of snakes may mean that He is the God of the Mongolians, Polynesians and the people of the Deccan (or Pātāla). His loin-cloth, dripping gore, may mean that He is the God of the Kols, Bhils, Santals—the sturdy foresters of bygone India. Thus Śiva is the God of synthesis and harmony (He is, even, the God of the Non-Aryan Rāvaṇa)—the first God of the Hindu Bhakti-cult but who concentrates and manifests in Himself the excellences and perfections of all the other cults of India and the world. However that be, with the image of this great, benign, Aryan God shining before us, we shall find no difficulty in defining a Hindu—a Hindu is he who believes in the supreme God (Maheśwara) who is creator and fulfiller of desires (Prajāpati), never-changing and ever-lasting (Ātman) and giver of Salvation (Nirvāṇa).
